DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 288 832 SP 029 573

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TITLE Teacher Socialisation: The Individual in the System.
INSTITUTION Deakin Univ., Victoria, (Australia). School of Education.
REPORT NO ISBN-0-7300-0399-X
PUB DATE 86
NOTE 153p.
AVAILABLE FROM Deakin University Press, Deakin University, Victoria 3217, Australia ($15.50).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Viewpoints (120) -- Books (010)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Elementary Education; Elementary School Teachers; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; *Individual Development; Job Satisfaction; Preservice Teacher Education; *Self Concept; *Socialization; Teacher Behavior; *Teacher Characteristics; *Vocational Maturity
IDENTIFIERS *England

ABSTRACT

This monograph presents an analysis of the central characteristics of self-image held by a group of graduates during their experience as primary school teachers in England, and the ways that they sought to preserve their sense of identity during their first decade of work. Data were gathered from personal accounts of 99 teachers through in-depth interviews and observations. A study of the results revealed that many of the teachers shared common views of themselves in terms of motivation, values, and ideals, even though each was unique in terms of personality and experience. It is suggested that the teachers whose views are reported in this study saw teacher development primarily as the development of the person and professional socialization as a pro-active and voluntary process of seeking or negotiating a context in which they felt they could "be themselves." The second and longer portion of the monograph is devoted to the following readings: (1) "The Limits of Socialization" (Dan C. Lortie); (2) "Developmental Stages of Preschool Teachers" (Lilian G. Katz); (3) "Situationally Constrained Strategies" (Colin Lacey); (4) "Self-Confrontation Reviewed: A Conceptualisation for Video Playback in Teacher Education" (Frances F. Fuller and Brad A. Manning); and (5) "Strategies, Commitment and Identity: Making and Breaking the Teacher Role" (Peter Woods). A brief annotated bibliography is included. (JD)

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Teacher socialisation: the individual in the system

JENNIFER NIAS

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Sociology of the school

Teacher socialisation: the individual in the system

JENNIFER NIAS

Cambridge Institute of Education

Deakin University

This book forms part of the EED423 *Sociology of the School* course offered by the School of Education in Deakin University's Open Campus Program. It has been prepared for the EED423 *Sociology of the School* course team.

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The course includes:
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Jennifer Nias, *Teacher Socialisation*
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Peter Watkins, *High Tech, Low Tech and Education*

These books are available from Deakin University Press, Deakin University, Victoria 3217.

Students enrolled in the course also receive supplementary material.

Published by Deakin University, Victoria 3217
Distributed by Deakin University Press
First published 1986

© Deakin University 1986

Edited, designed and typeset by Deakin University Production Unit
Printed by Deakin University Printery

National Library of Australia
Cataloguing-in-publication data

Nias, Jennifer.
Teacher socialisation.

Bibliography.
ISBN 0 7300 0399 X.

1. Teachers. 2. Professional socialization. I. Deakin University. School of Education. Open Campus Program. II. Title. III. Title: Sociology of the school.

371.1

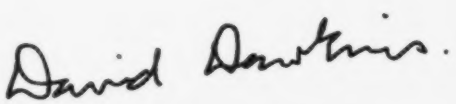
Series introduction

One feature of education is the gap that exists between academic interests and teacher practice. The theoretical and research interests of academics, on the one hand, are not readily available to teachers; the practical concerns of teachers, on the other hand, may not be taken account of by academics.

It is hoped that this series of monographs will provide a link between academic thought and research and the practice of teaching. Each volume in the series discusses contemporary educational issues and research in a way that can inform educational practice. They do not provide a set of prescriptive recommendations, but present a discussion of theory and research with the intention of highlighting the implications for educational practice in a way that can inform teachers.

The issues discussed in this monograph series include: the relationship between the political and economic institutions of society and the education system, suggesting a link between socio-political conditions and educational policies and programs; the experience of teaching, emphasising the importance of the self-concept of teachers in their socialisation into a professional role; ethnicity and multicultural policy, suggesting that these are best understood in terms of social class and what this might mean for teachers; a view of gender-related inequalities in education that suggests that these are best understood in terms of ideology about the family; the impact of new technology on society and the implications this may have for education; and the possibilities that confront the education system and the practising teacher.

It is hoped that these monographs will clarify some of the complex issues confronting educationists and will stimulate thought and discussion among teachers that will inform their own practice and add to the continuing debate.



David Dawkins
Course team chairperson

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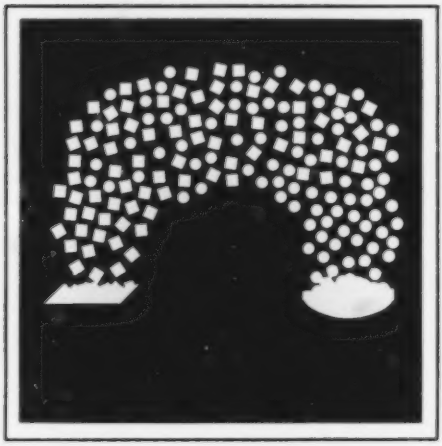
Teacher socialisation: The individual in the system



Introduction

An Australian student recently said, of his participation in an experimental teacher education program: 'This course is helping me to find myself as a teacher, instead of just becoming a teacher . . .'

There is plenty of evidence that people 'become' teachers, sometimes after quite a short time in schools. The English descriptions by Hargreaves (1982) of secondary teachers, by King (1978) of infant teachers, and Jackson's (1968) characterisation of American elementary school teachers, would seem like caricatures if our own experience, sadly, did not convince us that they were often true. It is therefore not surprising that early research into the professional socialisation of teachers saw it as a relatively passive process in which 'a group imposes pressures on new members to accommodate their attitudes, behaviour and affiliations' (Taft 1962). American work by Merton & Kitt (1950) and Becker et al. (1961) took a similar view of socialisation into medicine, while an Australian study argued: 'The entry into a profession involves many of the same changes as immigration; a move from membership in one social structure to another, with a consequent need to cope and adapt to a new social environment resulting in changes in skills, attitudes, behaviour and concept of self' (Coulter & Taft 1973, p. 681). They used a sequential model (satisfaction; identification; acculturation) to describe the process by which teachers accommodated to, identified with, and, finally, were assimilated into an established occupational sub-culture. A similar perspective was adopted by Raggett (1975) in the UK and Katz (1972) in the USA.

However, recent work has taken a different view of socialisation. Lacey (1977) presents it as 'a more complex, partial and incomplete process than is normal in functionalist theory' (p. 10). His study of student teachers and their early careers gives individuals a creative role, in which, within 'the general trends and changes that influence the whole cohort . . . [one can discern] the differentiating experiences and responses of a group of people making choices and trying to control some aspects of their own development and the institutions in which they work' (p. 129). Subsequently Woods (1981, 1984) and Nias (1984) have claimed an even stronger role for the individual, suggesting that the professional socialisation of teachers must be understood as an active process in which individuals seek to preserve, within the school and the profession, their sense of personal identity.

This emphasis upon the individual's sense of self derives from the sociological tradition of symbolic interactionism. As Mead (1934) and others, such as Cooley ([1902] 1983) and Thomas (1980), have argued, the self is both a social product, shaped by the response of others and an independent actor capable of innovating, initiating actions and reflecting upon them. The self has an individual identity, and an individual capacity to reflect not only upon the actions of others but also upon its own behaviour and the response it invokes from others. In short, mature actors are self-conscious, even though they can know themselves only through their social identities.

The contexts which determine these social identities change with time, place and role. Symbolic interactionists have therefore evolved the notion

of 'multiple selves' which reflect individuals' perceptions of themselves in relation to the different groups in which they participate. These 'multiple selves' encompass individuals' 'ideal' and 'real' selves, as well as taking account of the way they seem to themselves ('self-as-ego') and how they think others see them ('self-as-alter').

Yet few social psychologists would wish to defend a totally situational view of the self. Katz (1960), for example, suggested that each individual develops, through contact with significant others, an inner self or core. Ball (1972) developed this notion, distinguishing a person's 'situational selves' from his/her 'substantial self'. The latter comprises an individual's most salient values and highly prized views of and attitudes to self. It is persistently defended and is highly resistant to change.

If we adopt this perspective, teachers' 'selves' can be seen as both situational and substantial. However, as Lortie (1975) has argued, as a professional group teachers are notably free from collegial influence or restraint. Pupils, of course, play a crucial part in defining the individual's sense of occupational identity and competence, but in other respects teachers are generally protected by the nature and traditions of their work from much direct situational influence. Teaching is still perceived as an individual art, one in which 'personal predispositions are not only relevant but, in fact, stand at the core of becoming a teacher' (Lortie 1975, p. 79). Thus, if we wish to understand teachers we must attempt to learn more about these 'personal predispositions'. In particular, since education (as distinct from schooling) involves the translation of values into action, we must seek to discover individuals' deeply-held, 'substantial' view of themselves.

Unfortunately, work relating to teacher self-concept so far has not been very helpful in this respect. The existing literature is of two main types, neither of them bearing directly on teachers' values. There are several quantitative studies of aspects of teachers' self-concern and self-esteem (most of them summarised and reviewed in Thomas 1980; Burns 1982; Wragg 1982. The majority were carried out with students and we should therefore be cautious about applying their results to experienced teachers. A second group (Ebbutt 1983; Ingvarson & Greenway 1984; Woods 1984; Woods et al. 1985) examine, mainly through interview, aspects of the life-histories of individuals and derive from them generalisations about the particular influences, incidents and experiences which have proved especially powerful in shaping their sense of personal identity.

This monograph differs from both sets of studies, though it resembles the second in allowing the concerns and values of primary and secondary teachers to emerge through their own speech and actions. It presents an analysis, drawn from interview and observational data, of the central characteristics of the self-image brought by a English group of graduates to primary school teaching in England, and of the ways in which they sought to preserve their sense of identity in their first decade of work. It may seem contradictory to argue that our understanding of teacher socialisation can be advanced only by further knowledge of individuals, and then to present a corporate self-image drawn from the testimony of a hundred teachers. Nevertheless, study of the evidence suggested that

generalisations were possible, that many of these teachers, unique though each was in terms of personality and experience, shared common views of themselves, especially in terms of motivation, values and ideals. Their testimony suggests that we should consider teacher development primarily as the development of the person, and that professional socialisation is a pro-active and voluntary process, in understanding which we should not confuse the behaviour of individuals with their beliefs.

Data collection

Full details of the methodology are available in Nias (1981b, 1984). My enquiry relied heavily upon the personal accounts of ninety-nine graduates who trained in one-year Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) courses for work in infant and junior schools and who, at the time of interview, had taught for between two and nine years. Just over two-thirds had attended, over five years, a course of which I was tutor. The remainder were a random sample who between them had attended similar courses at seven universities, polytechnics or colleges of education. Altogether there were thirty men and sixty-nine women, the balance of sexes in each group being roughly the same.

I knew all the members of the first group very well, and three-quarters of them had been in touch with me between the time that their course ended and my enquiry began. Few of the second group knew me previously. To my surprise I found that members of both groups were not only equally keen to talk to a neutral but interested outsider about their professional experience, but that all of them were free (sometimes to the point of indiscretion) in their comments. Twenty-two members drawn from both groups also kept a diary for one day a week for one term, and the perspectives revealed in these accounts were very similar across groups. The interpretation of the experiences reported in diaries and interviews is, however, that of an outsider rather than an insider. Although they were tested in conversation with teachers as they evolved, the generalisations presented here are ultimately mine.

I contacted all the members of each group by telephone or letter. Six of the first group did not wish to be included in the project. With their prior consent, I visited in their schools (in many different parts of England) thirty-three of the remainder and all the second group. I spent roughly half a day with each of them in their classes, making unstructured observations, which I subsequently noted down before each interview. I also visited in their own homes twenty of the first group who had left teaching. I had long telephone conversations with a further eight from the first group (six were at home, two teaching outside England).

The purpose of the school visit was to provide a background against which I could interpret subsequent interview data and not to undertake any formal observations. Afterwards I conducted semi-structured interviews, taking rapid notes in a personal shorthand and using a very loose interview schedule, framed in terms of broad key questions. Respondents were encouraged to give long and, if they wished, discursive replies and I often used supplementary questions. The shortest of the interviews took one and a half hours, the longest five hours. Most took about three hours.

Many interviews of those in the first group were completed in the pub or in members' homes. All of those in the second group took place at school. Respondents talked equally freely both inside and outside their places of work.

The data used here are drawn from responses to questions used throughout the interview. The diaries were chiefly used to triangulate individual accounts of perspective and practice. In the absence of any similar studies of other teachers it is a matter for speculation whether or not the comments reported here reflect the different nature of the pre-service socialisation experienced by graduates as distinct from three- or four-year-trained teachers (usually in colleges of education: Shipman 1969; Nias 1972).

I also contacted by letter, telephone or visits about 70 per cent of the principals of any school in which any of my interviewees had taught during the previous ten years. The purpose of these interviews was to cross-check factual information and sometimes statements of opinion, and to provide an institutional context for teacher replies. They have not been a primary source of data.

Self as person-in-teaching

In the absence of any other comparable study, it is hard to tell whether or not these one-year trained graduates were typical of all primary school teachers. Certainly many of them saw themselves as being 'committed' to teaching (Nias 1981a), and in this respect as being different from many of their colleagues. In particular, they tended to be aware of the ideals they wished to pursue through their work. Lortie (1975), Lacey (1977), Nias (1981a,b) and Woods (1981) highlight the existence within the profession of individuals with strong dedication to religious, political or humanitarian ideals. In my study they were the teachers who said of others, for example, 'They lack any commitment to anything, to any views which they feel are worth defending', and of themselves, 'I see myself as a crusader', 'I can only go on if I feel I am a missionary,' or by contrast, 'I'm very unsure about my identity as a teacher, what I believe in, what I want to do'. Lortie argues that in America few of those who enter teaching with service motives wish to change the *status quo*. The studies by Woods and myself suggest that in Britain this is not the case; about 10 per cent of the teachers whom I interviewed were actively concerned to create, through their teaching, a more humane, socially just and constructively self-critical world. The tradition of the teacher who sees him/herself as a 'crusader' or 'missionary' is a long-standing one in Britain (Floud 1962); it is not surprising that it still exists. Indeed there is evidence that the work itself was capable of inducing this frame of mind. Three teachers described how they had embarked on their first posts without any sense of personal commitment and had been 'motivated by the job into wanting to work hard for something'. One explained, 'For the first time in my life I was doing something useful . . . Now I couldn't contemplate giving it up.'

More numerous than the self-confessed 'crusaders' were those who regarded the 'pursuit of principle' (as one put it) as a crucial part of their

job. As one teacher said, 'The key to the way I try to do my job is my inner conviction about what's right'. Another claimed, 'I'm not going to let my principles go, no matter how much [other staff] get at me'. Some expressed these principles in terms of priorities at work (e.g. 'I'm determined never to get to the point like some colleagues when the children come second and the comfort of the staff comes first'; 'I've got to do the job as well as I can for the children's sake—if I ever lose that, I'll give up'.) Others were concerned with broader professional standards. The single-minded pursuit of 'occupational competence' (Nias 1981a) led some to say of themselves: 'I work harder than other staff, even my friends. I think that's because they're more easily pleased than I am. I have to do a certain amount or I wouldn't be satisfied'; 'I used to go my own way in that school, and do what I felt was right'; 'I live in my own world, make my own standards'; 'It comes down to what satisfies you as an individual'.

Of course, not all of these teachers saw themselves as achieving high professional standards, but they clearly felt that they should aim for them (e.g. 'How much easier life would be if I could stop feeling guilty every time I fall short of the standards I know I ought to achieve'). They saw such 'falls from grace' (as one called it) as deriving either from their own lack of ideological conviction (e.g. 'Unless you're totally sure about what you believe, it's easy to lower your standards') or from membership group pressures (e.g. 'In the first two years, I took other people's standards and then in my third year I began to think for myself'; 'The only way of coping in that school didn't seem idealistically right, but I needed to survive so I fell in line'; 'The teacher role in this school is inconsistent with how I think children should be treated, but I don't have any alternative, unless I can get out'). Self-styled 'backsliders' measured themselves against internalised standards and felt 'guilty', 'inferior' and 'ashamed'.

Almost all of my interviewees also valued ideas, saw themselves as interested in intellectual issues and as willing to disagree publicly about them. Most attributed these interests to their undergraduate courses or to educational discussions during their PGCE year. As a result of their own educational experiences they saw themselves as 'intellectually curious', 'willing to argue', 'keen on ideas'. They distinguished themselves from colleagues who 'never talk about anything except football and the price of detergent', or who 'won't ever get involved in discussion of educational ideas'. In view of the widespread notion that primary teachers are interested mainly in the practical implications of ideas, it is worth noting that this group claimed to retain, even after nine years in the profession, a keen appetite for the intellectual side of their work, and that they valued discussion highly.

Most of the teachers I interviewed had endured a good deal in their early years. They recalled being 'permanently tired', 'lurching from one infection to another', 'never feeling well after the first two weeks of term'. Often exhausted or even ill, working seventy or eighty hours a week, they found it hard to sustain a social life 'apart from the weekly moan in the pub with other teachers'. Locked into a cycle of sleep and work, they felt they were becoming boring, narrow-minded, petty, that in consequence their domestic lives were suffering. They told familiar stories—of large

classes, children with acute learning difficulties and behaviour problems, unattractive buildings, colleagues lacking interest or even sympathy, principals who gave no support. One 'had my letter of resignation on the mantlepiece for eighteen months, so I knew I'd only got to walk down to the postbox with it'. Hanson & Herrington (1976), Hannam et al. (1971) and Taylor & Dale (1971) have documented similar tales of self-expenditure, exhaustion, disappointment and despair among probationers. Allowing for a natural tendency to overstate difficulties in retrospect and for teachers' felt need to experience an occupational *rite de passage*, these accounts made consistent and depressing listening. Yet ninety-three of the group worked for at least one year, eighty-two for more than two. Indeed some of them endured three or four years when 'most days I didn't want to go to work . . . yes, of course, there were the good bits, but if you'd asked me then if I was enjoying it, I'd have said "No—I hate it".'

I asked them the obvious question: why didn't you give up? The answer was always the same. They were not used to failing and could not believe that, in time, they would not succeed. They saw themselves as 'stubborn', 'obstinate', 'liking a fight', 'not used to being beaten'. One woman, in her fourth year of teaching, and her second job, said, 'It's hell, but I don't want to give up. In fact, if I discovered I was pregnant, I'd be miserable—I'd feel that I'd failed!'

Some were also consciously aware of looking for a job which would provide scope for self-expression. Primary teaching appeared to offer the chance to display initiative, to use varied talents, and above all, to 'be yourself' in the classroom (Fuller & Manning 1973; Nias 1981b). It was, they felt, a career in which individualism was not only permitted but also approved. They frequently defended the right of themselves and their colleagues to 'teach as you feel happy', or offered probationers the advice to 'establish yourself and your own style in your first year'. Several said of their teaching methods, 'I wouldn't want to teach in any other way. This is how I feel most comfortable'. One argued, 'I'm unique. I've developed my own format and style' and another stated, 'I use teaching to work out my own problems about authority—and so do many teachers'. Three men chose to return to the area in which they grew up and then waived the chance of promotion in order to stay there. Each explained this decision in similar words: 'I feel at home here'; 'It's where my roots are'; 'I was brought up here and I wouldn't be happy anywhere else'. As Noad (1979) reports of Australian students, these respondents saw teaching as a means of self-actualising (e.g. 'I get a sense of achievement when it's something I've devised myself'; 'I keep trying new things and I'm curious to see how far I can go'; 'I felt the need to assert my ideas'.) By the same token they were ready to leave teaching when they felt that they were no longer being personally extended (e.g. 'A change would be good for me'; 'I'm getting stale'; 'I fear getting in a rut') or that their uniqueness was under threat (e.g. 'Before I started I used to think I could set my own standards as a teacher . . . now I'm becoming a "professional teacher". It annoys me, I never wanted to be like that, never wanted to "be a teacher". I'm becoming compromised, falling back on what I know works, not on what is really me. . . I'll probably give up.') The widespread

belief that teaching allows for self-expression is pointed up by one contrasting example from a man who said: 'I've had to destroy my own personality ... to become quicker, more dynamic, ready to laugh. I'm a different person since I started teaching'. A similar point is made by some of those who talked of leaving, or had left, because the job absorbed too much of themselves. They claimed it left no time or energy to 'be themselves' outside the classroom. They said, for example, 'There are so many other things I want to do, so much I want to try', 'My personal life is important too and I had no time for myself'.

A few of those who were aware of their need to 'safeguard my own life' had learnt how to reconcile this with teaching. As Elliott (1976) also found, they taught, but their emphasis was on self-as-person, rather than self-as-teacher: 'I've learnt when to stop, when to have my own life'; 'My other interests enrich me; I'm not 100 per cent a teacher'; 'Teaching fits in as part of my whole life—I can be myself through all of my activities'.

Self as teacher

The fact that many of my interviewees had well-defined views of themselves as people with particular standards, principles, personalities, needs, did not also mean that they saw themselves as teachers. Almost all of them claimed they had chosen to teach (only two said they had 'drifted into teaching', and six were using teaching as a means of entry into educational psychology), and several had overcome resistance from parents, spouses or university tutors in making the decision to train for primary teaching. Yet, paradoxically despite their deliberate career choice and the fact that many of those who were still teaching at the time of interview said they were enjoying their work, about two-thirds did not feel themselves to be 'real teachers'. Of these, the ones who had taught for between approximately two and four years were still deciding whether or not they wanted to see themselves as teachers (e.g. 'I'm still not convinced this is for me'; 'I'm a teacher now, not necessarily for always'; 'I don't yet see myself as a teacher, though I'm beginning to see my way to becoming one'; 'On a bad day, I ask myself, "Am I really a teacher?" ') Others, despite longer experience, found identification difficult because they could not measure up to their own standards for an 'ideal teacher' (a phrase they often used). They said, for example, 'I think of myself as an idealised teacher, not as the teachers I know'; 'You don't see many teachers you'd like to be like—I'd like to feel I was an "ideal teacher" '; 'Yes, I do feel like a teacher, but at the same time, I feel different from most of the teachers I've worked with. I still have an idea of what I'd like to be like'.

By contrast, only fifteen of those still teaching at the time of interview unequivocally saw themselves as 'real teachers'. One said, 'I can't think of myself as anything else'. Seven of them had wanted to teach for almost as long as they could remember; the remainder had made up their minds at many points between the age of fourteen or fifteen and the end of their fourth year of teaching. Indeed, three persisted in 'feeling I'm a teacher', despite prolonged lack of positive reinforcement from colleagues (e.g. 'I know I can teach; the fact that I won't do it the way my principal wants

me to doesn't mean I'm not a teacher. Inside I *know* I am'; 'From the beginning I felt as if I was a teacher but no one in my first school would admit it'; 'I always thought I was a teacher, and I still think I am, but it hasn't come out in this school . . . I'm still the same person inside but somehow it isn't finding its way out'). None of these respondents went on to explain what it meant to him/her to 'feel like a real teacher', but this was probably because I did not seek further explication.

Behaving as a teacher

The fact that many of my interviewees saw themselves as people who, for the time being, were teaching and not as teachers, did not mean that they were not concerned with their behaviour in schools. Indeed, as I have suggested above, the majority worked hard to become professionally competent. Yet the process of learning to behave in an occupationally acceptable manner presented them with a dilemma. To receive the support of other teachers, especially in the difficult early months and years, they needed to behave as pupils and colleagues expected, but they had to do this without compromising the values with which they had entered teaching. Many found a temporary resolution to this problem by preserving their own beliefs while learning to act, as teachers, the role which the first school to which they were appointed appeared to require of them.

Role models

In discovering how to behave appropriately they received help from two main sources.

First they adopted role models. In primary schools this is not easy since teachers are seldom fully visible to one another. To be sure, all teachers have themselves been pupils and, as Lortie (1975) reminds us, 'many are influenced by their own teachers in ways they do not even perceive'. However, as a pupil, one sees one's teacher in contact mainly with oneself and other learners. Teachers have access to their colleagues' 'backstage' and public behaviour but, except in open-plan schools or in team-teaching situations, their interaction with pupils is hidden by classroom walls. Thus the overwhelming majority of the cited role models were able to display only a limited range of teacher behaviours. As a result, my interviewees relied on inference, extrapolation and imagination in constructing their picture of 'what real teachers do'.

Notwithstanding, a third of my sample recalled a teacher and a few more a principal in their first or second school who, they claimed, had had a lasting influence on their own view of 'the sort of teacher I would like to be'. If one includes teachers who remembered such a person from teaching practice or a period of unqualified teaching, the figure rises to nearly half. Apart from the small number of 'outstanding' principals (who are remembered as wise, charismatic figures with unlimited time for the individual teacher, a well-articulated philosophy, a keen grasp of practicalities and a 'genuine commitment' to education (Nias 1980)), these models had one main characteristic. Time after time they turn out to have had the classroom across the corridor from or next to the interviewee

and/or to have taught the parallel class, or to have shared an open-plan unit with him/her. It was possible for my interviewees to 'pop in and out' of their classrooms during the school day, occasionally to hear (if not see) them teaching, to borrow or copy materials, to gather ideas, plan joint ventures, discuss problems and possibilities. In short, their common characteristic, as models, was that they were visible or, at the least, accessible.

In the absence of models in school, a further tenth of my sample recalled modelling their behaviour on teachers whose pupils they had been. These came from all sectors of education from primary school to college and university, and appear to have shared no common characteristics. In addition, one or two teachers had idealised memories of teachers whose classrooms they had visited during their PGCE courses. The tendency to draw on personal experience as pupils persisted even after many years of experience, particularly when individuals took on roles or responsibilities for which they felt unprepared. One primary teacher wrote, 'I have been asked to take over the science . . . I find myself drawing on A level biology and O level geology and memories of physics and chemistry which go further back than that . . . It gives me some idea of what I ought to be doing'. Lortie (1975) draws attention to this phenomenon (of 'modelling the mentor'), arguing that it reduces the status of the profession by reinforcing the notion that 'those who have been pupils are equipped to be teachers' (p. 65).

A further fifth of the total number felt that at some point they had used one or more of their colleagues as negative role models, that is, as examples of attitudes or practices which they wished to eschew. However, much of the rejected conduct either took place in public parts of the school or was inferred from glimpses of teaching or staffroom behaviour or from classrooms and materials. It was therefore based on even more partial knowledge than was positive modelling.

Many teachers remarked sadly upon the inaccessibility of their colleagues. 'It's incredibly difficult to discover what other teachers do' was a typical claim. 'I'd love a chance to observe others, to sort out what *I* want to do.' One teacher voiced the view of many others when she said, 'I don't *know* how successful teachers behave'. The general opinion of teachers of all lengths of experience was, 'You never see another teacher except at assembly or in the playground or sometimes if they're telling someone off in the corridor'. So they tended to create their own pictures of 'what successful teachers do' and then copied 'whatever I see someone else doing that I think I could use/would suit my style/seems a good idea to me'. As one said, 'You do the visible, conforming things . . . not because you believe in them but because that's what you can see everyone doing. But in your classroom, *you* do what you think is best'.

Professional parents

A second source of help available to some of these teachers as they learnt how to behave appropriately was their more experienced colleagues. Whatever their values and attitudes, all teachers have to acquire a certain 'craft knowledge'; some element of apprenticeship is therefore inevitable.

Many of my interviewees spoke of their desire for practical help, especially in their early years of teaching. They spoke with profound gratitude of the principals or colleagues who, as one said, 'taught me the job': 'I didn't want to be like him . . . but I couldn't have survived without him'.

The teachers in this study named familar areas in which they would have welcomed help. They spoke of problems with discipline, classroom organisation, teaching of the three Rs, art, science and P.E., and of difficulties in relating to parents. Some blamed their training, others its length (nine months), or the narrowness of their teaching practice experience. Many more, however, felt that this kind of knowledge could only be learned 'on the job'. Overwhelmingly, they wanted more opportunity than they had been given to 'sit by Nellie' so that they could benefit from the technical expertise of those with more practical experience than they had. More strongly, some felt that their technical problems had been ignored or overlooked by their colleagues. They said, for example, 'I didn't know what I was doing and no one offered to show me'; 'My main problem was being entirely on my own, entirely without help'; 'If someone had been there to help me, I might not have made such a mess of my first year'; 'If only I could have sat down once a month and discussed what I was doing'. One teacher went straight to an infant school, despite training for work with older children. She left her job after two years with a deep sense of failure and, reflecting on this experience, said, 'I'd go back tomorrow if I could find a head who'd train me on the job. But there aren't many like that, are there?'

Yet, not all the probationers who struggled to achieve technical competence felt that they did so alone. Some found within their first appointments the practical help which they craved. Notably, they were given assistance with the technology of teaching (e.g. classroom organisation, display, worksheets, apparatus) and with control. Indeed, nearly half my sample attributed their survival in their first posts to help from one or more specific individuals. For example: 'She spent hours with me after school sorting out my reading materials, helping me get the room organised and showing me what to do for display'; 'There was one teacher in particular I leant on very heavily; she showed me all her materials, lent me things, was always ready to help with the difficult children. I couldn't have coped without her'.

Sometimes, rescue was available during the school day (e.g. 'One day when the principal said he wanted reading tests administered by Friday and my class was in its usual uproar, another teacher suggested I send my children across to him in twos and threes and he'd administer the test. And without that sort of help I'd have gone under'). More frequently, help was given in individual classrooms at lunchtime, early in the morning or after school, and was facilitated if the two teachers lived in the same neighbourhood or travelled to school together.

The main 'rescuers' were senior teachers. In a few schools (mostly infant or primary) it was the head. More frequently, it was the deputy, senior mistress, year or team leader, although sometimes it was simply an older teacher without formal responsibilities for new recruits. Moreover, in the absence of help from other teachers, some of my interviewees gratefully

accepted the support of untrained personnel, such as the secretary ('Without saying anything, she used to do my register and all that ghastly dinner money . . . she was always ready to help with materials and sometimes, when the head was out, I even used to send a child I couldn't cope with to sit in her office'); the caretaker ('If it hadn't been for him, I'd have been there till nine every night' and, 'He really helped me to understand the children'); and non-teaching assistants (e.g. 'She was much better at a lot of the practical things than I was and she showed me how to avoid confrontations with the kids').

Some teachers needed help so badly that if it was not seen to be available within the school, they would search for it in other places. For example, 'I used to save my problems up and go on courses run by that particular adviser'; 'There was a college lecturer who had a student in the school and she was ready to help but the principal wouldn't let her'; 'There was a terrific row when I went to the adviser and said I couldn't go on without help from someone, so could he please come in and see me'; 'There was a teacher from another school living in the same street and she was more use than anyone'; 'Fortunately we had a good teachers' centre and I used to go there and talk to the warden'. Interviewees also recalled turning to visiting remedial teachers, educational psychologists and social workers.

Whatever their formal status, these 'rescuers' tended to be perceived as 'middle-aged', 'experienced', 'capable' and were sometimes explicitly described as 'motherly' or 'fatherly' (e.g. 'There was a group of older men in that school, willing to give up plenty of time to younger teachers. I still go back and see them . . . They were marvellous. One was almost like a father to me'). The secret of their success seemed to lie in their ability to anticipate when help would be needed and to provide it quietly and sympathetically. In short, their role appears to have been that of a 'professional parent'. Years later they were remembered with an almost filial affection, for their kindness, interest, readiness to listen, to offer sympathy and practical help, and for their generosity with time, materials and ideas. They helped many young teachers to survive their early experiences of the classroom without despair, disaster or excessive disillusion. Without them, the drop-out rate in the first two or so years of teaching would probably have been very heavy.

Valuable though these more experienced teachers were in terms of the survival and craft learning of their newer colleagues, their influence was, in the broadest sense, conservative. The solutions they offered and the advice they gave were time-honoured and pragmatic. Help was often given and accepted in the form of curricular materials, apparatus, prescriptions for organisation, planning and control. Yet such 'technology' cannot be separated from its aims (Westbury 1973); it may be that successful adoption of a more experienced teacher's means discourages younger teachers from searching for their own ends.

Teacher development as the development of self

The distinction which my interviewees made between 'being' individuals who, however temporarily, had chosen to teach, and 'being' teachers not only helps us to understand their early accommodation to the technical demands of the job, it also offers insights into the process of teacher development. The notion that over time it is the person who changes, becoming a teacher with altering skills and priorities, rather than the teacher him/herself changing is not a new one. Fuller (1969; Fuller et al. 1974; Fuller & Bown 1975) argued that as teachers gained more experience their personal concerns changed from self to task to impact upon pupils, and that these changes could be seen as stages of professional development. The first stage is characterised by anxiety about one's adequacy and survival as a teacher, about class control and the evaluative opinions of both pupils and supervisors. The second stage is one of mastery; teachers try to perform well. It is marked by concern over features of the teaching situation (e.g. too many pupils, time pressures, lack of resources). In the third stage, teachers may either become resistant to change in their routines or become concerned about the impact of their actions upon pupils. Impact concerns relate to the social and learning needs of individuals, discipline methods and classroom climate, the choice and teaching of particular curricula.

The fact that Fuller's formulation, for the most part, was taken up by researchers in search of 'stages of career development' has tended to distract attention from her emphasis upon the teacher-as-person. However, there have been a number of recent studies which have recognised, as Fuller did, that professional development is inseparable from personal education (Taylor 1980) or re-emphasised the resistance of the individual to the socialisation pressures of the school and the profession (Lacey 1977; Woods 1981; Tabachnik et al., 1983; Nias 1984). In the sections which follow I present an account of teacher development which is consistent with the view that it is the person-in-teaching who changes with greater experience and not simply the professional.

Survival

I have already suggested that the tenacity of the teachers in my study during their early years in school stemmed from their sense of self: to be true to their self-image they needed to survive in the classroom. So they mentioned as characteristic of their early months or years the preoccupations which had filled their minds on teaching practice. Could they cope with class control? Would the principal or the adviser judge them fit to pass their probationary year? How could they teach all the subjects on the curriculum in an appropriate and interesting manner? In short, were they up to the job? These anxieties are, almost to the word, those cited by Fuller (1969) as typical of 'early concerns', and, as she argued, they reveal a massive concern with self-adequacy. Accordingly, typical significant adult others at this period were those perceived as having validating capabilities—principals, advisers, very visible and successful colleagues.

Pupils too played a part in determining as individual's sense of personal

adequacy. When I asked, 'How did you know whether you were being successful?', the invariable answer was 'the children's response', even from those who also admitted their need for recognition by a sanctioning figure. 'The look on the children's faces', 'If a child learns something because I've taught it', 'The way their faces light up', 'When they come in early to go on with something I've started'—these are the characteristic touchstones which my interviewees employed in judging their classroom successes in their early years. Their failures were determined in the same way: 'It only needs one child not to learn'; 'If the children don't like it, it doesn't matter how good anyone else thinks it is'; 'I used to judge by whether or not I'd had to send Kevin to the principal'. Pupils are powerful significant others because of their unsolicited ability to validate the technical competence of their teachers.

Yet teachers who sense that they are not surviving feel more than a lack of occupational expertise. Failure becomes an ethical reproach as well. As Lewis (1979) argues, in our culture failure

> threatens our self-esteem by causing us to doubt our character, our competence, or quite possibly both . . . To the extent . . . that our aspirations go unrealised (whatever the reason), we are threatened or troubled by personal guilt. Fearing that we have done less than we should, we are all too frequently haunted by the sense that we have done ill. (p. 17)

Indeed, some of my interviewees saw this themselves. More than one said, 'I blame myself when things don't go well', or, 'You always ask yourself "What did *I* do?"' One summed it up:

> If you haven't taught, you don't have any idea how much it matters when you have a bad day. You can't go home and forget it, it nags away all evening, all night too if you're really low. It hurts—in a way you can't explain to people who aren't teachers.

Paradoxically, some individuals were so determined to preserve their values and beliefs that they declined help even when their survival was at risk (e.g. 'She offered to "deal with" my worst children herself, but I knew what that meant and I couldn't have gone on teaching if I'd felt I was treating children like that'; 'He gave me some of his worksheets, but they went against everything I believed in and I couldn't bring myself to use them'; 'The advice I did get, I didn't want . . . I didn't want to be like them'; 'Of course you make some compromises, but if I ever thought I'd follow his example, I'd give up teaching tomorrow').

An explanation for this behaviour which is consistent with the importance of a sense of personal identity is to be found in theories of cognitive dissonance. Festinger (1957) claimed that we find it psychologically uncomfortable to hold views, and especially beliefs, which are mutually incompatible or to act in ways which are inconsistent with one or more of them. This is particularly the case when inconsistencies arise in respect of those beliefs and values for which the referent is the self (Rokeach 1973). Teachers who acted to prevent what they perceived as professional intrusion (e.g. 'She really was a terrible busy-body . . . I had difficulty keeping her out'; 'I wish I had had the courage to keep him out more than I did') may well have been protecting themselves from the cognitive dissonance

which would have resulted if they had adopted the views or behaviours of their colleagues.

Altogether, it is not surprising that teachers are obsessed, during their early encounters with pupils, by the self-imposed need, as one put it, 'to get through today, never mind tomorrow or next week'. The costs of not surviving or of purchasing survival at the cost of cognitive dissonance are high—loss of self-esteem and/or of a long-established sense of identification by self and others as a teacher, hurt pride, psychological discomfort, feelings of moral inadequacy and guilt. They are evidently so high that some of these teachers were prepared to put up with two or more years of 'hell—that's all I can say about it' rather than admit they had not succeeded in their chosen career.

Identification

By the start of their second year (though often sooner and sometimes later) interviewees generally seemed confident that they could fulfil the occupational obligations of 'being a teacher'. Validating colleagues, superiors and/or pupils had confirmed their survival for them; they felt technically competent. This, however, did not mean that they wanted to 'be' teachers. For a period which often lasted two to four years they proceeded to test their career choice against their experience of the profession. Though confident of their capacity to survive, most were not at this point at all sure they wanted to go on teaching. This was not because they felt unsuccessful—many had already begun to earn the golden opinion of their principals—but because they were not ready to make a positive identification with their occupation. (Typically: 'I love children but I hate schools' or, 'I like teaching but I don't want to *be* a teacher'.) They also seemed unwilling to foreclose on a particular occupational identity (e.g. 'It isn't that I don't like teaching—I do, especially in this school. It's just that there are other things I'd like to do', and, 'I'd like to have a go before it's too late at some of the other things I'm good at').

The willingness of individuals to identify as teachers depended in large part on finding a school or sector of education which would enable them to 'be myself'. Often this meant searching for a match between personal beliefs and attitudes and the values of the school. Accordingly, they changed jobs, several of them moving three or four times in as many years. They went not just from one primary school to another, but also to different sectors of the educational system. Within the nine-year span covered by their experience almost one-third (27) had taught in fifteen different types of school, other than mainstream state schools for children of five to twelve years. They took jobs in further education, home teaching, remedial and subject departments in secondary schools, four types of denominational school, private, nursery, hospital and special schools (of five different sorts). They also sought jobs in schools with large numbers of Asian, Caribbean, or Italian children, and in inner city, suburban and rural areas. In short, they seem to have been reluctant to give up teaching until they had satisfied themselves, through a careful search, that they could not 'be themselves', in value terms, anywhere in the profession.

In moving some were also seeking a greater sense of self-actualisation

through their work. The teacher (one of seven to move to special schools) who applied for a job in a hospital school said, 'As a teacher in an ordinary job, I cannot give children the attention I feel they need. With smaller numbers I can care more, and that's what I want to do'; and the infant teacher who moved to the remedial department of a secondary school explained, 'I knew that in that department, children came first, as I believe they should.' By contrast, two teachers with clearly stated conservative views had changed from schools on re-settlement estates to suburban areas. As one said, 'I don't believe that teachers should be social workers, I want to *teach*'. At a different level, some moved because they could not 'use my art in that school' or 'there was no scope for my sort of English teaching'. There are many more such examples.

Identification also appeared to depend upon contextual reinforcement. One argued, 'I need to move . . . I don't believe you can behave for very long in a particular way without becoming that sort of person . . . and I don't want to be like that', while another said, 'It's so difficult trying to act one way if everyone else behaves in another. You begin to wonder what sort of teacher you really are'. In Nias (1985) I have described the way in which many teachers used reference groups outside their places of employment to support a 'substantial' self which did not include the notion of self-as-teacher. At the same time they sustained an active quest for school-based reference groups which would confirm for them some congruence between 'situational' and 'substantial' selves. I interviewed thirteen teachers in their fourth or fifth year of service who were very positive about the ways in which they did or did not like to teach and about their short- and long-term aims. All were actively seeking a change of schools and all gave reasons which suggested a felt need for professional comradeship. All located their main sources of support outside their schools but deplored this fact. 'I want', as one said, 'a school where other people share my goals'; several pleaded for 'just one other person who feels the way I do. I could manage if I had just one other.' Eight other interviewees claimed that they had decided not to move at the point that a like-minded colleague had joined the staff of their schools or when the principal had changed, altering the dominant ethos of the school. In each case the desire for a move was reported as being accompanied by feelings of personal threat: typically,

> You begin to feel it must be you who's wrong—I knew I wasn't, but I needed somebody else to tell me . . . My father-in-law was marvellously supportive but we only saw him in the holidays and I'd got to the point of giving up when a new principal arrived . . . You do need someone on the spot, someone who knows the same kids you do and is interested in what you're doing. Otherwise you begin to lose confidence in yourself, not just in what you're doing but in your aims, in why you're doing something this way rather than that.

As teachers search for positive identification with their work, pupils become increasingly important as significant others, emerging for many teachers as the critical 'reality-definers'. Riseborough (1985) has vividly described the power of career definition individual pupils have for particular teachers. As learners, they retain their capacity to undermine the

self-esteem of teachers, to engender feelings of guilt and worthlessness and to cast doubt upon the soundness of the latter's career choice. By contrast pupils can confirm individuals as teachers, making them feel loved, needed and successful. Their power to shape, confirm or destroy the future careers of teachers by moulding the latter's view of their own characteristics, capabilities and aspirations has probably been underestimated so far.

Consolidation and extension within teaching

At the end of this phase of search for identification with teaching, both men and women appeared to reach a decision about their immediate careers. Those who had achieved a match between 'substantial' self and the 'situational' self confirmed by a potent school-based reference group settled into a period of consolidation. Their concerns, as Fuller found, were not with task, but with their performance of that task. They sought out courses of a practical nature, experimented with different types of classroom organisation and teaching method, worried about the quality of resource provision and the size of their classes. They expressed relatively high levels of job satisfaction, especially in terms of a sense of competency, and talked of feeling 'extended', 'purposeful', even 'fulfilled'. Their discontent was generally caused more by the features of school life which appeared to reduce their effectiveness (e.g. inefficient administration, lack of whole-school aims) than by teaching itself (Nias 1981b). They wanted to teach well, and resented it when apparent thoughtlessness or weakness on the part of the principal prevented them from doing so (Nias 1980). In short, having decided that they were teachers, they pursued the highest professional standards of which they were capable and expected others to do the same.

At the same time many attempted to shape their roles to suit their particular skills and aptitudes, in particular by taking on responsibilities beyond the classroom which they found personally extending. They learnt extra skills, undertook curriculum development or administrative tasks, began to specialise in curriculum areas or aspects of learning difficulty. Men, in particular, became very involved with extra-curricular activities. Indeed, it is possible to identify a sub-group of eight men who thoroughly enjoyed working with children, especially in the context of games, environmental studies, field trips and the like, who admitted to finding classroom work rather boring, but who went on teaching because it offered them more of a chance to do more of the things they enjoyed than any other job would apparently do.

Men and women also sought confirmation that, as teachers, they could continue to be intelligent adults with a lively interest in ideas. They began to express a desire for more intellectual challenge in their work, applied for advanced courses, began reading again, and enthusiastically discussed educational ideas whenever they could. They expressed dissatisfaction at the level of staffroom debate, deplored the 'pettiness' of many aspects of school life and the 'unthinking' quality of much classroom work and drew heavily upon intellectually-oriented reference groups (usually outside school).

Yet though many of them maintained contact with a reference group which confirmed that they were not 'merely' teachers, their significant others at school were those with whom they worked most closely: pupils and like-minded colleagues (occasionally, therefore, the whole staff). Indeed, spouses to whom I spoke during or after individual interviews would say things like: 'It's a good job I feel that way about my work too, otherwise I'd be feeling left out'; 'I never go to school but I must know as much about her class as she does. She's always talking about them'; 'Sometimes I get fed up with the amount she puts into school, but she wouldn't be happy if she didn't, I suppose . . . anyway I'm away quite a bit, so it's just as well.'

It is difficult to relate this phase of task-concerned fulfilment and extension to particular ages or lengths of service. If an individual, whether late or normal entrant to teaching, had a strong sense of personal identity and easily found a congruent context and favourable working conditions then he/she was likely to pass rapidly through earlier phases and be confidently established by the start of the second year. On the other hand, several of those who had been teaching eight or more years were still exhibiting these kinds of task concerns. One said, 'I was a late starter—I hated my first four years and it's only since I came here that I've been able to teach at all properly'. Another claimed,

> 'You can always go on getting better at this job. I'm nowhere near the end of it yet—anyway, I've been lucky, I've had promotion within the school, and new responsibilities almost every year. I always feel stretched . . . I suppose I might start looking soon for a deputy's job, but I don't really want to . . . I'm happy here.'

Increased influence

Eight of my sample, five with between seven and nine years' experience and three who were older but had not been teaching as long, expressed concerns which were different from those voiced by less experienced teachers. They were beginning to look for wider responsibilities within the educational service, to fulfil their view of themselves as persons of leadership potential and/or educational vision. Six were talking of becoming principals, two had become active in their professional associations. Two were teacher-governors, several were closely involved in parent-teacher associations. In each case they expressed a desire to influence or change other people in the direction of their own ideas. One man and one woman felt that 'if you care about your religion you have to do something about it'. The rest spoke of their secular educational ideals and of their frustration in 'not being able to get anything done because I'm not at the top'. One woman said, 'I used to think I didn't want promotion, but recently I've begun to realise my ideas are better than most other people's that I meet. Why shouldn't I try to do something about them? Other people do'. The two who had turned to union affairs expressed similar views, but argued for the power of direct action rather than the influence of bureaucratic position. All of them showed what Fuller has described as 'impact concerns', but aspired to have a direct effect not,

as she suggests, upon pupils' learning, but upon some aspect of the educational system.

This change towards a wider view of education was accompanied by a broadening of reference groups and, to a lesser extent, a change in significant others. This group were likely not only to air their own educational philosophies and ideas but also to quote the opinions of educationalists as widely disparate as A. S. Neill, Chris Searle and Rhodes Boyson. Several harked back, in interview, to one particularly inspiring teacher or head teacher whom they had known or read about, according this person almost the status of a personal *guru*. To be sure, they were not indifferent to the financial gains of promotion, but their main aim in seeking it seems to have been to acquire a base from which to put their own ideas into action.

Pupils remained important to them, but in slightly different ways. Whereas their younger or junior colleagues gained a keen satisfaction from meeting children's classroom needs and organising their learning effectively, this group appeared to enjoy nurturing them in a broader sense. One deputy claimed, 'I love these children'; another argued, 'If I leave teaching at this point, I shall feel I have let the children down. I know enough now to help them—I must go on and try'. A man put it this way:

> I've always liked children . . . but as you go further up the ladder, you begin to think about all of them, not just your class. It may sound trite, but I have always felt I have a responsibility beyond my own teaching. Now I feel ready to try . . .

At the same time, teachers with specific career aspirations took note of the opinions of their principals, of advisers, of colleagues with influence in the system—in short, of those with validating capabilities at the next hierarchical level. Promotion, after all, depends on the recommendation of one's superiors. Teachers who want to leave their footprints on the sands of time cannot afford to ignore those who act as gatekeepers to the beach.

Consolidation and extension outside teaching

Meanwhile, twenty-six of the total group had left the profession at the time of interview. All gave similar reasons. Some (including the four men who had always intended to become educational psychologists at the earliest opportunity) did not see themselves as teachers. As one woman said, 'It's no good; I've tried and I'm not a teacher'. A larger group (all women except for one man who had chosen to exchange roles with his wife) had chosen an alternative career in parenthood. Some had done so because they had felt unable to identify as teachers, some had been unsuccessful in finding a congruent setting, some had come to the end of the personal growth which seemed possible in particular schools. Whatever their reasons they saw parenthood as a positive step in another, but related direction. They liked children, they and their partners wanted a family at some time; at the point when they had made the decision, sooner had seemed more personally satisfying than later. Few wanted to go back to being primary school teachers, though most spoke of an eventual return to the profession in another sector or capacity.

I also interviewed three women who were hoping very soon to become pregnant, or, in one case, to adopt a baby. In each case, they admitted to 'having lost interest in the job'. 'I feel I'm getting in a rut, I need something new . . . My centre of interest seems increasingly to be at home'. Their significant others were clearly pressing them, or colluding with them in their desire to take on another occupation. By contrast, I spoke to one woman who said, 'I want to go on teaching, I'm not bored yet, in fact I love it, but I'm under so much pressure at home . . . my parents, my husband, my mother-in-law. They all want me to have a family . . . I feel trapped'.

I also include in this category one man and two women who went to jobs abroad at the end of four to six years' teaching, and two men and one woman who moved to jobs in secondary schools or further education at the end of six years. In each case they made the decision for reasons which closely ressemble those taken by intending parents. They were looking for 'new challenges', 'something fresh to tackle', 'a job which was a bit different; I had started to find my last one too easy'. Like their peers who stayed in teaching, their goal was personal extension, and to achieve it they were prepared to pursue sequential careers. As Bethell (1980) points out, one of the limiting features of teaching is the difficulties it presents to anyone who wants to opt in and out at different points, in accordance with the dictates of felt needs for personal growth or refreshment.

Privatised workers

There was also a small group of three women who, at the time of interview, had exhausted the possibilities, in terms of personal satisfaction and extension, which teaching appeared to offer them. All were described by their heads as competent teachers, yet all wanted to give the job up. Each had domestic circumstances which made this difficult. During the previous three to six years, two had tried various schools in an attempt to find one in which they felt that they 'fitted'. One had succeeded but confessed to 'stagnating' after four years in that school. All talked in negative terms about their lack of involvement with the job and their dissatisfaction with it. However, they saw the latter as resulting in part from the former, which was itself due to their domestic commitments. They all saw themselves as 'being rather 9-to-4, I'm afraid', or 'getting very lazy', a stance for which there was referential support in their schools. It was also clear that the important part of their lives went on at home and that it was in the lateral roles of mother and daughter that they found significance. They had, in short, become 'privatised workers' (Goldthorpe 1968).

A slightly different case was that of a man who had been an enthusiastic teacher but who not long before had married a widow with three children. He said,

> I know I'm not teaching as well as I could at the moment, but the important thing for me just now is to make a success of being a step-father . . . Everything else is second to that . . . I find it immensely satisfying. What I need to do is find a balance between the two.

This man hoped, like Bennett's (1983) and Woods's (1984) art teachers, to seek self-fulfilment through the pursuit of a parallel career.

The development of personal concerns

To sum up, then, these teachers appeared to move through career phases which were dominated and determined by personal concerns which were, as Fuller suggested, in turn for self, task and impact. However, on closer examination, these concerns were all expressions of the individual's need to preserve his/her identity. The decision to teach, and the consequent need to survive their first experiences of classroom and school raised urgent questions for individuals about their personal adequacy, professional integrity and career choice. Survival assured, many then set about establishing whether or not they wished fully to identify as teachers. For most of them this was dependent upon finding a school or sector of education in which they could experience a reinforcing match between their 'situational' and 'substantial' selves. Those that succeeded took on the next challenge—that of consolidating and extending their identities as teachers through their mastery over the task. Those who did not moved on to other careers (notably parenthood) in which they believed they would find it easier to live consistently with their values and/or to encounter opportunities for personal growth. A few who did not wish to see themselves as teachers, but who were trapped by personal circumstances into the job, located their 'substantial' selves outside their work and became 'privatised workers'. Finally, a number of the longest-serving teachers, assured by their job satisfaction and proven competence of the match between self and occupation, turned for further self-development to impart concerns; in particular they sought for hierarchical positions which would enable them to influence and spread their ideas to others.

It could be argued, therefore, that the personal concerns of teachers do develop but that, in a fundamental sense, they remain the same. The heart of this paradox is the notion that the 'substantial' self is the core of both person and teacher. To be sure, teaching met different needs for all of my interviewees at different times, often as a result of changing circumstances in their personal lives. Yet, throughout, their main concern as workers was to find and sustain an occupation which was consistent with their view of themselves as people.

Strategies for the defence of the substantial self

Teachers work in schools not classrooms. Few can remain completely immune from the pressures of the staff group or from the dominant ethos of the particular school. In their attempts to preserve their personal identities individuals resort to a variety of strategies. I have touched on two of these which were commonly used in situations where teachers felt relatively independent of the staff membership group of which they were part: movement between schools and phases of schooling or into other occupations; and the reduction of work to a confined and relatively insignificant part of daily living.

Another strategy was to avoid contact with one's colleagues. Typical descriptions of their own behaviour from those who acted in this way were:

'I didn't get on with any of them because I spent all the time with the kids or in my classroom'; 'I never made any attempt to make any relationship with them'; 'I shut myself up and got on with the job; getting to know them wasn't important to me'. One man said, 'You've got to be prepared for conflicting pressures from the staff . . . you've got to be prepared not to be liked', and a woman who left teaching after three years summed it up: 'I never had a personal relationship with any of the teachers I worked with. It takes time and effort to create a common language, especially when all my previous experience was so different from theirs. I wasn't ready to give that amount of effort to it'.

Other strategies were necessary for those who were dependent, however unwillingly, upon the staff membership group of their schools. Such groups often exert a strong influence on the attitudes and actions of individuals (Sherif & Sherif 1967). In addition many of these teachers reported being unable to function effectively in the classroom without the support of their colleagues. Some, particularly married women, valued the companionship of other adults especially since they lacked the time to seek it elsewhere; most found it unpleasant to work in a strained social atmosphere. Above all, my interviewees reported needing their colleagues' sympathetic support to counteract the stresses of their professional lives. Many seemed to share the belief, stated by Waller ([1932] 1961) over fifty years ago, that since the relationship between teachers and pupils is inescapably one of conflict, self-interest prescribes the maintenance of staff solidarity *vis-à-vis* pupils. Others, as Lortie (1975) suggests, used staff rooms as places in which they could share their sense of guilt and worthlessness (e.g. 'I had a permanent sense of failure because I wasn't meeting the needs of individuals and it was a help to know other people felt that way, too'). Both views were summed up in this comment:

> We've got to preserve the staffroom as a place where we can all come and tear our hair and laugh and collapse. If we didn't, we'd none of us survive. It doesn't matter whether you like them or not. When you're dealing all day with the sort of problems we are, you have to get along with other adults in the place. So we get on together . . . we have to. You can't stand the classroom stress for long if the staffroom's full of tensions as well. We need each other's support, to keep *us* going, let alone the school . . . Here, we're all failing all the time—you can't carry that on your own for long.

In order to maintain this friendly milieu while preserving their own sense of identity, many teachers resorted to patterns of behaviour described by Shipman (1967) as impression management and by Lacey (1977) as strategic compliance. Membership groups always impose a certain level of behavioural conformity. Schools, in particular, require their members to show (e.g. through dress, language, appearance) many signs of social orthodoxy; primary schools are sometimes markedly restrictive in these respects. So, my interviewees wore suitable clothes ('my school uniform'), adopted appropriate school behaviour (e.g. in assembly, on playground duty), fell in with staffroom conversational norms (e.g. 'I don't disagree for the sake of peace'; 'They're my mates, so I try to behave as they want me to'), used 'teacher language' when speaking to children in front of colleagues. In short, they bought social approval by consciously maintaining

a double standard. Studies which show that probationers move in their opinions towards those of their established colleagues (e.g. Finlayson & Cohen 1967; Morrison & McIntyre 1969) ignore the possibility of impression management. My evidence suggests that it is widespread among individual teachers in primary schools, especially in the early years of teaching.

All these strategies depended for their success upon individuals' ability to obtain reinforcement from some other source for their definition of themselves. They achieved this by using other teachers as negative reference groups (Newcomb 1943) and by drawing on the referential support of those who shared similar perspectives to their own (Shibutani 1955). Sometimes they found the latter group in a school; indeed it apparently needed only one other person 'to confirm my values' for the resulting pair to become relatively impervious to the opinions of the rest of the staff. Pupils too were an important source of reinforcement. Often, however, the teachers' reference groups were outside school—spouses, family, teachers on courses, university tutors, friends from church, political parties, other schools and sectors of the education service. I have described and discussed them in further detail in Nias (1985).

Reference groups, wherever they were located, were established and affirmed through talk (often by telephone, when frequent meeting was impracticable). The phenomenological view, that it is through talk that participants create and make sense of a shared social order, offers a means of understanding this phenomenon. A vicious circle existed for many of these teachers. Needing referential support for their sense of personal identity, they turned to those who could readily provide it. Often such persons already existed outside their schools, so they talked to them, seeking and giving reinforcement for perspectives which they held in common. The more interaction there was within these out-of-school reference groups, the more their members understood one another and the greater became the sense of social reality which they jointly created and shared. By contrast, the less individuals talked to their colleagues, the fewer understandings they shared with them and the less desire they had to talk to them, particularly since they all spent the bulk of their working days with their pupils. Thus the reality which sustained these teachers' 'substantial' selves gradually came to exist anywhere rather than in the adult life of the school. Lortie (1975) and Hargreaves (1982) have drawn attention to the lack of a common technical culture among teachers. I would suggest that the individualistic nature of the profession, particularly in the primary sector, goes deeper than this, that teachers' reference groups result in and reinforce multiple realities which give individuals a false sense of having achieved within their schools agreement over ends and means. In short, teachers do not talk to one another only because they lack the opportunity to do so; they do not bother because they cannot, and because they do not wish to. They cannot because it is only within their reference groups that they possess a shared language by which to attach meanings to their common experience. They do not want to because the process of creating such a language would threaten the social context which sustains and defends their 'substantial' selves. The more teachers

define what they do in terms of their own personalities and values, the closer becomes the identification between self and work and the greater is the likelihood that potential influence from others will be perceived as affecting not just the role but also the identity of the individual.

Conclusion

The central idea presented here is that the individual teacher seeks, as a priority, to preserve his/her sense of personal identity, especially as this embodies self-defining values and beliefs. Most of the men and women whose views are reported here chose teaching in part because they felt that they could 'be themselves' in the primary classroom, or, to put it another way, that, as teachers, they could live consistently with their beliefs and values. Some pictured themselves as religious, political or humanitarian crusaders, many more as principled professionals, as individuals with an informed interest in ideas and educational debate. Most valued self-expression, in their jobs and outside school. In addition, many saw themselves as persistent people, unused to failing in their chosen goals. Yet, although many of them by the time of interview had established successful careers in the profession, few identified as 'teachers'. Indeed, one can distinguish between the minority whose self-image included the notion of 'teacher' and the majority for whom identification as a teacher was contingent upon their ability to live with a view of themselves that they had often espoused a long time before they chose an occupation.

This is not to say, however, that they failed to adopt the behaviour which they saw as appropriate to the schools in which they were employed. Although often lacking systematic help in acquiring craft knowledge, most soon earned the golden opinion of their principals. Yet they appear to have mastered the technical aspects of teaching by trial and error, assisted by the curriculum materials, classroom walls and pragmatic advice of a more experienced colleague. The latter was not normally chosen for his/her occupational competence or skill, however, but fell into the role of 'professional parent' through accessibility or kindness. At the same time, new teachers learnt the public actions and attitudes appropriate to their role by observing their colleagues in assembly, the playground and the staffroom. Lacking opportunities and time for discussion or to see the whole of anyone else's professional behaviour, they fell back on partial role models, constructing their own 'ideal teachers' from chance encounters, inference and imagination. The evidence from this enquiry suggests that primary teachers think individualistically and learn selectively, while borrowing where they can from the accumulated practical experience of senior colleagues. In short, the means by which they learn the technical aspects of their occupation encourage the handing on from one generation of teachers to another of traditional ways of behaving within and outside the classroom.

Yet, although the craft knowledge of teachers and the actions which result from it, may remain relatively unchanged, the occupational concerns and aspirations of the person who is the teacher alter with the part played by work in his/her total life. This itself varies with time and circumstances.

In other words, the traditional view of professional socialisation—as incremental induction into an accepted body of norms, beliefs, attitudes and actions—takes an unsustainably passive view of human behaviour. The teachers whose opinions and experiences are reported here were actively involved from the start of their careers in seeking or negotiating a context in which they felt they could 'be themselves'. At the start their main preoccupation was to survive their early encounters with teaching, in the eyes of pupils and validating superiors, in a manner which was consistent with their view of themselves as tenacious and successful. A period of search, often involving movement from job to job, followed that of survival. It had the same main aim—confirmation that the decision to teach was the right one—but its purpose was to achieve a match between the deeply held values and attitudes of the 'substantial' self and the behaviour expected by significant others of the 'situational' self. Those who achieved this match were able to consolidate their sense of identification with teaching by becoming successful at it, a process in which the reaction of pupils was highly significant. Proving one's mastery of the task was normally accompanied or followed by a search for personal growth within it. In particular, the conditions of primary teaching did not always satisfy the individual's sense of him/herself as someone with intellectual interests and the need for self-expression. Finally (in the time-span covered by my data) a few teachers began consciously to consider their impact upon the educational system as well as on their pupils. They saw themselves as leaders and looked to significant others who would validate them in this view of themselves. Meanwhile, others had left teaching to pursue different careers (notably parenthood) or, constrained by personal circumstances, had become 'privatised' workers within it. In each case their concern was for the preservation of their sense of personal identity which, contrary to their expectations, they felt to be threatened by the alienating or stultifying effects of their work. In short, the concerns of these teachers developed over time, but these changes were, I would argue, more apparent than real since the individual's continuing concern was for the preservation of his/her self-image. Self, task and impact concerns are, in fact, different manifestations of teachers' desire to preserve and realise their 'substantial' selves in and through their work.

In the absence of a context in which individuals felt they could 'be themselves', they used strategies which protected their sense of personal identity while enabling them to enjoy the support of their colleagues. In particular, they shaped their public behaviour by a conscious process of impression management, isolated themselves from the rest of the staff group and obtained support through interaction, and especially discussion, with selected reference groups within and outside the schools, sometimes outside teaching. Such reference groups simultaneously promote and impede the development of the profession and of the individual within it. On the one hand, they are crucial in establishing and maintaining common values, and thus a shared sense of personal identity among groups of teachers. On the other, they may frustrate the possibility of open dialogue in situations where no agreement exists. Reference groups used for the defence of one set of shared values may obstruct the open

discussion of others, especially when the values which are held in common are concerned with the individualistic pursuit of self-expression as an end in itself. Those who enjoy teaching because it allows opportunities for idiosyncratic behaviour may be even less likely than those whose aim is the translation of social values into action to enter into discussion with their colleagues.

Thus, personal identities and the reference groups by which these are strengthened and protected contribute to the partial nature of professional socialisation among primary teachers. Few of these teachers acknowledged any commitment to professional norms or goals. Rather, they spoke in terms of identification with a particular sub-group and allowed their public behaviour in school to be shaped by the need to survive socially within the staff group. Provided that we do not take a narrow view of the nature of professional socialisation, this is not a surprising conclusion. However, it becomes a disturbing one when allegiance to the values which form the basis of an individual's choice of reference group lead to personal and professional isolation or to the formation within a school of inward-looking sub-groups with divergent aims. In the absence of shared goals within the profession and of the open debate which might allow these to emerge, the public behaviour of primary teachers seems to alter very little. Practical expertise is acquired in a way which tacitly discourages change within the profession and the individual's aims are protected from fundamental challenge by the preservation of his/her sense of personal identity. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that schools will change only when teachers are encouraged to engage, with their colleagues, in self-evaluation and the open examination of values.

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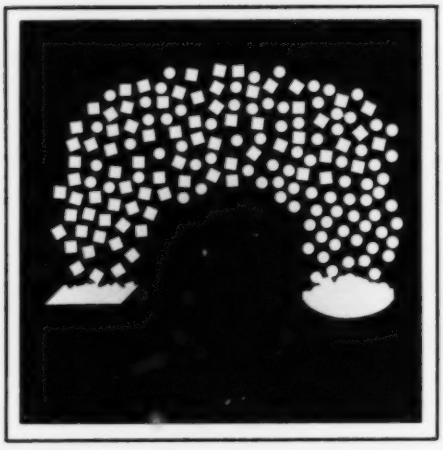
Readings



1

The limits of socialization

Dan C. Lortie

Source: Dan C. Lortie, 'The limits of socialization', in *Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1975, pp. 55–81.

Occupations shape people. Scholars as diverse as Adam Smith, Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, William James, and Thorstein Veblen have discussed the profound influence work has on human personality. Modern sociologists and psychologists have provided us with studies of how people are affected by their occupational pursuits.[1] We have learned that conditions of entry play an important part in socializing members to a given occupation; and we expect those who study work institutions to pay close attention to both formal and informal processes of induction.

Yet not all occupations influence entrants to the same extent. Some organize the experience of the neophyte in ways which have profound effects; others do not. Some inculcate complex and specific technical cultures in their novices; others do not. Contrast, for example, pathways to full participation in the Jesuit priesthood, quarterback status in professional football, or diamond-cutting on the one hand with beginning work as a waitress, factory worker, or taxi-driver on the other. Among the observable differences are the time it takes to qualify, the arduousness of the preparation, and the complexity of the skills and knowledge needed for full membership.

The comparative impact of initial socialization makes considerable difference in the overall life of an occupation. Where such socialization is potent, the predispositions of newcomers become less important through time; the selves of participants tend to merge with the values and norms built into the occupation. The opposite holds where socialization experiences are weak; in that case, the attitudes, values, and orientations people bring with them continue to influence the conduct of work. The internal structure of an occupation is also influenced by the potency of socialization arrangements. Occupations with highly developed subcultures—that is, with rich, complex bodies of knowledge and technique—differentiate entrants from outsiders, laying the basis for a special sense of

community among the initiated. The reverse also holds; where the content of initiatory stages is sparse, the significance of guild is low. Contrast, for example, the internal relationships found in medicine and in retail sales, in airline piloting and in driving delivery trucks, in certified public accountancy and in routine office work.

On the basis of what we have learned in the preceding chapters, we would not expect teaching to stand at the high end of the continuum of comparative socialization impact. Structures affecting entry have been kept loose to ease recruitment; the occupation does not filter candidates through a refined selection screen or subject them to a powerful induction sequence. We observed that "professional preparation" is comparatively recent in its development and that there are few evidences of major technical change in the conduct of instruction. Cellular organization retards rather than enhances colleagueship. Teachers, moreover, are subordinates employed in organizations where those who govern (board members) do not belong to the occupation; the workplace of the teacher—the school—is not organized to promote inquiry or to build the intellectual capital of the occupation. We begin, then, with the general expectation that initial socialization into teaching will be somewhat less involved than that found in the historic professions or arcane crafts, since the conditions we generally associate with a rich subculture do not prevail for classroom teaching.

The purpose of this chapter, however, is to go beyond such indirect observations and closely consider the issues of socialization in teaching. How do the stages of socialization compare with those found in highly developed occupations? What do teachers say about their shaping as members of the occupation? Does their testimony accord with claims of professionalization made by some occupational leaders? How do the beliefs and orientations of teachers connect with the socialization sequence? We shall deal with such questions using data from Five Towns, a survey conducted in Dade County, Florida (See Appendix A), and studies conducted by other researchers.

The Stages of Formal Socialization

One way to assess the impact of an occupation's induction processes is to examine the sequence of experiences that entrants typically undergo. Occupations vary in the complexity of their apparatus for inducting new members. It is reasonable to assume, other considerations being equal, that highly developed sequences will have a greater effect on neophytes than will simple ones. At first glance, such comparisons seem very difficult, for there are a bewildering variety of occupations and routes into them. Much of the apparent diversity, however, is rhetorical rather than real, since certain basic components are found in all systems of occupational induction. Those I can identify are: (1) formal schooling, (2) mediated entry, and (3) learning-while-doing. This universality permits us to compare any single occupation, component by component, with highly developed instances in other fields, thus achieving a rough but useful

summative judgment on the overall complexity of induction into the occupation.

Two kinds of schooling are involved in work socialization—*general schooling* and *special schooling*. Compulsory education laws have set the minimum general schooling required, but there are significant variations above that level. Occupations increasingly tend to require at least high-school graduation, but there are kinds of work which can be begun with less (Berg 1970). Many fields insist upon college preparation; one of the principal trends of work in the twentieth century is the increased number of would-be professions which demand higher education. Less prestigious college fields require four or five years of total study in institutions of higher education, but some of the established professions demand four years of college *before* full-time specialized study is begun.

The amount of specialized schooling needed varies more than demands for general schooling. One may leave school and immediately begin work in a factory or as a retail sales clerk: where special schooling is required, it is measured in hours and days rather than months and years. We find the other extreme in medical specialist training, where four years of medical school is supplemented at both ends, by prescribed undergraduate courses and by study needed to pass board examinations after resident training. Much of the diversity in induction revolves around different types of special schooling, including such diverse arrangements as barber colleges, two-year technical institutes, correspondence schools, and night-school study. University education is frequently both long and diverse. It can involve study of basic sciences and other disciplines, special disciplines peculiar to the profession (e.g., theory of motors, stress of materials, pathology), and codifications of practice garnered over centuries of experience (e.g., law of contracts, principles of building design, practice of surgery). Highly developed special schooling features not only intellectual complexity but variations in setting; in medicine, for example, it includes classroom instruction, laboratory work, clinical rounds, and seminars.

Compared with occupations in general, teaching requires relatively long general schooling. Today few teachers begin work with less than twelve years of school and four years of college, including some college study of education. (Some states now require five years of college.) Since teaching was one of the first occupations in America to possess special schools, we might expect it to require a long period of specialized study, but compared with other college-based occupations this is not true.[3] It is difficult to get precise and reliable information on what proportion of the average teacher's undergraduate study is centered on pedagogy and related courses, but it rarely matches the length of special schooling required of engineers, doctors, lawyers, clergymen, and other professionals. Although there is some variation by level (programs of elementary education tend to have more education requirements), education undergraduates probably spend, on the average, somewhere between one and two years of equivalent full-time study on specialized courses (Conant 1963).

Special schooling for teachers is neither intellectually nor organizationally as complex as that found in the established professions. The study of

medicine and engineering is rooted in science; law and divinity can point to generations of scholars who have contributed to their development. Neither holds for education, for specialized study of the subject has a short history and an erratic connection with the mainstream of intellectual development in modern society. Early study of education was isolated from scholarship; attempts to integrate it with disciplines like psychology have lasted only a few decades. Nor do we find an equivalent to the centuries of codified experience encountered in law, engineering, medicine, divinity, architecture, and accountancy; no way has been found to record and crystallize teaching for the benefit of beginners. Law students have their precedents, and engineers have exemplars dating back to ancient Rome; physicians recall Galen and centuries of empirical treatment, and clergymen can pore over thousands of published sermons and exegeses. Architects can examine monuments of success and failure, and the beginning student of accounting, although probably unknowingly, is working with concepts dating back to medieval times and refined by generation upon generation of practical men. But what meaningful record exists of the millions of teaching transactions that have occurred since the City on the Hill?

The organizational simplicity of instruction in education is seen in its heavy reliance upon conventional classroom instruction: lecture and discussion are the bread and butter of education study. There are variants, of course—workshops, films, and occasional field trips, and some see promise in such innovations as television and "microteaching" (Dreeben 1970). But the study of education is mainly standardized around traditional classroom instruction and private study. It does not routinely feature the varieties of learning settings found in the established professions.

Mediated entry is probably the classic form of work induction. Apprenticeship, for example, was highly developed in medieval times and undergirded the entire system of guilds. Today we find mediated entry under various labels and in a wide range of occupations; it is manifest in the long formal apprenticeship of the building crafts, clerkships in law firms, internships and residencies in medicine, and the "management training programs" conducted by many corporations. In some instances, mediated entry means a protracted engagement in a complex series of steps, as in training to be an airline pilot or a certified public accountant. Such systems, regardless of their length, share certain features. Typically the neophyte takes small steps from simple to more demanding tasks and from small to greater responsibility under the supervision of persons who have attained recognized position within the occupation.

Compared with the crafts, professions, and highly skilled trades, arrangements for mediated entry are primitive in teaching. The only major device of this kind is "practice teaching," which is short and comparatively casual. Most states require some such experience before certification, but usually only a few weeks. The practice teacher normally observes the work of an experienced teacher and teaches classes as that

teacher sees fit; mechanics of operation are worked out in conjunction with a degree program in education in a college or university. Reports on practice teaching frequently point out that its effectiveness depends in large part on the skill, involvement, and conscientiousness of the supervising teacher. There is little to suggest that it is conducted uniformly.

One of the striking features of teaching is the abruptness with which full responsibility is assumed. In fact, a young man or woman typically is a student in June and a fully responsible teacher in September. "Beginning teachers" are on probation and usually receive more supervision than their experienced colleagues, but their daily tasks are essentially the same. It is no accident that some refer to this as the "sink-or-swim" approach.

Learning-while-doing has played a major part in the history of American business and industry. Before the recent emphasis on long general schooling and special study for business, young people entered offices or factories and succeeded or failed on the basis of what they managed to learn in the course of everyday work. (The process was glorified in the "office-boy-to-president" myth.) Many jobs are still filled this way, particularly in manufacturing and service fields. Those with few specialized skills may acquire them in training programs operated by the business concern or begin in positions requiring no distinct skills. Making provision for internal mobility has become an expensive and complicated matter in modern business, and millions of dollars are spent each year on a wide variety of special programs. The armed services are noteworthy in this respect; they have developed a multitude of training programs to staff positions "from the inside."

Teaching historically has relied heavily upon this kind of work socialization, since for the first two centuries of schooling in America no special preparation was available or required. Learning-while-doing continues to be important; we shall see that teachers believe work experience is highly influential in shaping their performance. Study by teachers is reinforced; salary schedules and promotion possibilities are usually linked to additional coursework. But provisions for training within school systems and teacher organizations are on a considerably smaller scale—and have a more intermittent schedule—than prevails in many business corporations and in the armed services. In school systems, "in-service" efforts tend to be measured in days, and even hours, rather than in weeks or months.

Our review of schooling, mediated entry, and learning-while-doing in teaching reveals that the total induction system is not highly developed. Teaching does not require as much preparation as some professions, crafts, or other skilled fields. Teaching is relatively high on general schooling and somewhat low on specialized schooling. Mediated entry is limited; the few weeks of practice teaching are outmatched in lower-ranked occupations. Induction after work has begun generally takes the form of continued college study; provisions for additional training within school systems are sparse. One is struck both by the heavy reliance upon

formal classroom instruction and by the protracted subordination of the teacher to persons who, properly speaking, are not members of the occupation. The earnest teacher begins as a student in a college classroom and may continue (part-time) in that status for many years.

Teacher Perceptions of the Induction Process

Socialization is a subjective process—it is something that happens to people as they move through a series of structured experiences and internalize the subculture of the group. Although it is helpful to compare the sequence in teaching with that in other occupations, more germane data lie in the experiences of those who have undergone the process. We turn now to testimony from classroom teachers who have been asked to reflect on their induction experiences. I will follow the outline provided by the categories I have used in the previous section. But I will be looking for answers to some general questions. How do teachers weigh the various stages of their induction experience? Do their comments identify informal processes which are not immediately apparent? To what extent, if any, do classroom teachers see themselves as sharing a common technical culture?

General Schooling and the Apprenticeship of Observation

> My mother was a teacher, her sisters were teachers—it's a family occupation. I always wanted to go into teaching. I can't remember when I didn't want to....I remember as a little girl sometimes seeing teachers have a hard time. I thought, well, I will be careful because some day I'll be on the other side of the desk. [#60 F-59-6th]

One often overlooks the ways general schooling prepares people for work. Such an oversight is especially serious with public school teachers, for participation in school has special occupational effect on those who do move to the other side of the desk. There are ways in which being a student is like serving an apprenticeship in teaching; students have protracted face-to-face and consequential interactions with established teachers.

Those who teach have normally had sixteen continuous years of contact with teachers and professors. American young people, in fact, see teachers at work much more than they see any other occupational group; we can estimate that the average student has spent 13,000 hours in direct contact with classroom teachers by the time he graduates from high school.[3] That contact takes place in a small space; students are rarely more than a few yards away from their teacher. The interaction, moreover, is not passive observation—it is usually a relationship which has consequences for the student and thus is invested with affect. Teachers possess power over their charges; for those who aspire merely to "survive" school, the teacher must at least be placated. But for persons with higher aspirations (e.g., the hope to attend college), the stakes are higher; they learn the significance of good grades and the value of teacher favor. In the terminology of symbolic interaction theory, the

student learns to "take the role" of the classroom teacher, to engage in at least enough empathy to anticipate the teacher's probable reaction to his behavior. This requires that the student project himself into the teacher's position and imagine how he feels about various student actions. As our opening quotation suggests, the motivation to engage in such role-taking is especially great when students have already decided to become teachers. But it is likely that taking the role of the teacher is general among students whatever their occupational intentions. It may be that the widespread idea that "anyone can teach" (a notion built into society's historical reluctance to invest heavily in pedagogical research and instruction) originates from this; what child cannot, after all, do a reasonably accurate portrayal of a classroom teacher's actions?

But there are important limits on the extent to which being a student is like serving an apprenticeship for teaching. There are two major restrictions. First, the student sees the teacher from a specific vantage point; second, the student's participation is usually imaginary rather than real. The student is the "target" of teacher efforts and sees the teacher front stage and center like an audience viewing a play. Students do not receive invitations to watch the teacher's performance from the wings; they are not privy to the teacher's private intentions and personal reflections on classroom events. Students rarely participate in selecting goals, making preparations, or postmortem analyses. Thus they are not pressed to place the teacher's actions in a pedagogically oriented framework. They are witnesses from their own student-oriented perspectives. They assess teachers on a wide variety of personal and student-oriented bases, but only partially in terms of criteria shared with their teacher and with teachers in general.

It is improbable that many students learn to see teaching in an ends-means frame or that they normally take an analytic stance toward it. Students are undoubtedly impressed by some teacher actions and not by others, but one would not expect them to view the differences in a pedagogical, explanatory way. What students learn about teaching, then, is intuitive and imitative rather than explicit and analytical; it is based on individual personalities rather than pedagogical principles.

Imagining how the teacher feels and playing the role of a teacher are different experiences; the difference is intensified, moreover, because children have not yet acquired sufficient emotional experience to make accurate empathic attributions. Students have no reliable basis for assessing the difficulty or demands of various teaching acts and thus may attribute teachers' actions to differences in personality or mood. It is hard to see how the idea of technique would arise in their experience or what situational factors would reinforce it if it did. Lacking a sense of the problematics and a sure concept of technical performance, they are not likely to make useful linkages between teaching objectives and teacher actions; they will not perceive the teacher as someone making choices among teaching strategies. There is ample indication of affective responses of liking and disliking, identifying with or rejecting, but there seems relatively little basis for assuming that students make cognitive differen-

tiations and thoughtful assessments of the quality of teaching performances.

The student's learning about teaching, gained from a limited vantage point and relying heavily on imagination, is not like that of an apprentice and does not represent acquisition of the occupation's technical knowledge. It is more a matter of imitation, which, being generalized across individuals, becomes tradition. It is a potentially powerful influence which transcends generations, but the conditions of transfer do not favor informed criticism, attention to specifics, or explicit rules of assessment.

It would take complex research to confirm this analysis. Data gathered in Five Towns, however, lend it support; it is a fruitful line of thought. We turn to data on the influence of former teachers and on the transition from student to teacher.

Although Five Towns teachers were not asked about the influence of former teachers, it is evident that many consider it important (question 29, App. B-1). A large proportion of respondents *volunteered* information about how their current work is affected by the teaching they received. The information was elicited by a question asking respondents to describe an outstanding teacher they had; 42 percent of the respondents went out of their way to connect their own teaching practices with his. An additional 16 percent described a teacher whose role was similar to their own. Since they also linked that striking teacher with their decision to enter the occupation, the presumption is high that the remembered teacher is a strong model for the respondent.

Teachers of both sexes and at both elementary and secondary levels connect their current practices with their mentors. Excerpts from five interviews illustrate the wide range of attributed effects.

> The teacher I had in sixth grade was good, interesting. There are a few things I used this year that I remember having done in her room. [#6 M-24-5th]

> There was one particular teacher in my 8th and 9th grades. She was very hard, very strict, and used to say "I know some of you don't like me since I'm so strict but when you get out of school and think back, a lot of you will probably think of me as being the best teacher." She really was. She probably taught me how important classroom discipline was. [#23 F-42-3d]

> My second grade teacher was kind. She knew it was a terrific change for me to come all the way from Iowa and she'd take the time to talk to me, to take away some of the fright. I never forgot that and when new youngsters come into my room I always try to team them up with someone. I have a special word for them. [#27 F-59-5th]

> I had one college professor. . . . This is the man who had more to do with my techniques than any other person. [#40 M-46-Eng., Hist.]

> I had her in U.S. history and she whetted my appetite for history. . . . I may be one of her products. I think I am. [#10 M-38-Soc. Stud.]

The data at my disposal suggest that the continuing influence of former teachers is present in more than half of the Five Towns cases; since the information was volunteered, a considerably higher proportion might have been ready to admit to such influence had they been asked. There is another reason, however, to suspect that the phenomenon is more important than these data disclose. Social psychologists have noted that some kinds of learning (e.g., the acquisition of a dialect) occur through a slow, unwitting process involving imitation; the individual takes on the ways of others without realizing he is doing so. My information is limited to instances where teachers realize that their current behavior reflects former teachers; when we recall that students have protracted and consequential face-to-face interaction with many teachers, and that some young people identify strongly with their teachers, it is likely that many are influenced in ways they do not even perceive. Some respondents, in fact, said as much:

> I would say that I probably have at times [used former teachers as models]. Not actually knowing, not meaning to, but I think there are times I have. [#52 F-47-3d]

> The only way I've tried to teach is just by teaching by probably using a little psychology, a little judgment and, I suppose, as a result of my own experience as a child. The teachers I had made me subconsciously. What you do in class, you listen to their work, and tests, and so on. I don't think there is any great science to teaching.... If you want to teach, you can teach. [#64 M-60-Bookkeeping]

The second respondent connects influence from former teachers with the idea that teaching is not an arcane or scientific undertaking; in short, those who have been students are equipped to be teachers.

I argued above that the apprenticeship-of-observation is not likely to instill a sense of the problematics of teaching—that students, because of the limits of their vantage point and empathic capacity, will see it simplistically. Five Towns data are consistent with this argument. Asked how their expectations of teaching differed from reality, nine times as many resondents said that teaching was more difficult than expected as said the opposite (question 12, App. B-1). Teaching made more demands on their time and energies than they expected: some said that their training was unrealistic, that responsibility made the work different, or that it was harder to achieve discipline than they thought it would be. Others thought that students had "changed for the worse" or that they were misled about students' eagerness to learn. Generally, teachers were not surprised at the nature of their tasks; with the one exception of clerical tasks (students apparently do not fully perceive this aspect of the teacher's work), teachers ended up doing things they had expected to do. But they found those tasks harder and more taxing than anticipated—the subjective reality was misperceived. It seems that neither the apprenticeship-of-observation nor their formal training prepared them for the inner world of teaching.

Teaching is unusual in that those who decide to enter it have had

exceptional opportunity to observe members of the occupation at work; unlike most occupations today, the activities of teachers are not shielded from youngsters. Teachers-to-be underestimate the difficulties involved, but this supports the contention that those planning to teach form definite ideas about the nature of the role. People entering other occupations are more likely to sense that their information is limited. The meaning of teacher training is likely to differ as a result of this special feature of the occupation. The latter statement is warranted by previous analyses and by data gathered in Five Towns.

Hughes has described professional socialization as a turning point in the entrant's perceptions of the role and of himself; prior conceptions are reversed as the learning individual looks back on his former self from inside (Hughes 1958). It is remarkable that the talk of Five Towns teachers does not fit this description; they place events which preceded their formal preparation for teaching within a *continuous* rather than a discontinuous framework. Thus when they describe their former teachers they do not contrast their "student" perceptions with a later, more sophisticated viewpoint. They talk about assessments they made as youngsters as currently viable, as stable judgments of quality. What constituted good teaching then constitutes good teaching now; there is no great divide between preentry and postentry evaluations. Training (and even subsequent experience) is not a dramatic watershed separating the perceptions of naive laymen from later judgments by knowing professionals.

The lack of dramatic change in outlook we have been discussing supports the allegation that education training has low impact on students, and we shall return to this later. It also provokes questions about their receptivity to instruction in pedagogy. One thinks, for example, of the engineering student's relationship to his professors. Given the complexity and low visibility of engineering tasks and specialties, it is an unusual student who rejects, or even screens, professorial dicta on the basis of personally formulated judgments about engineering practice. But education students have spent years assessing teachers and many enter training with strong preconceptions based upon firm identifications. Students in education may simply classify education professors as new members of a category (teachers) with which they are already most familiar. The mind of the education student is not a blank awaiting inscription.

Education students have undergone diverse prior experiences and their assessments will presumably reflect personality differences, varieties of social experience, and the different contexts within which their assessments were made. There is little reason to expect that any group of teachers-to-be will share common images or proclivities; the descriptions Five Towns respondents gave of remembered teachers point to variety rather than similarity (question 29, App. B-1). Those providing instruction to teachers, therefore, confront classes composed of students who possess varying definitions of good teaching and cathect diverse models of the occupation. Professors will not find it easy to develop consensual

standards of practice, and in such circumstances instruction can easily move to a superficial level of discourse. Unless students in training can experience at least some sense of genuine collegiality—some sharing of technical problems and alternative solutions—they will be ill-prepared for such efforts when they work alongside one another.

Teacher training is increasingly influenced by ideas drawn from behavioral science. Those trained in behavioral disciplines are inclined to conceptualize teaching in instrumental terms—to talk of "treatments" and "options" and to assess outcomes in terms of measurable and discrete objectives. One wonders how effectively such professors communicate with the many students who, it appears, see teaching as the "living out" of prior conceptions of good teaching. Students who conceive of teaching (consciously or not) as expressing qualities associated with revered models will be less attuned to the pragmatic and rationalistic conceptions of teaching found in behavioral science. The two groups—students and professors—may talk past one another. Research on teacher training programs ought, in any event, to test for problems which may lie in divergent predispositions and perspectives.

In summary, the apprenticeship-of-observation undergone by all who enter teaching begins the process of socialization in a particular way; it acquaints students with the tasks of the teacher and fosters the development of identifications with teachers. It does not, however, lay the basis for informed assessment of teaching technique or encourage the development of analytic orientations toward the work. Unless beginning teachers undergo training experiences which offset their individualistic and traditional experiences, the occupation will be staffed by people who have little concern with building a shared technical culture. In the absence of such a culture, the diverse histories of teachers will play a cardinal role in their day-to-day activity. In that respect, the apprenticeship-of-observation is an ally of continuity rather than of change.

The Special Schooling of Teachers

Teacher education has been one of the stormier sectors of higher education for decades (Tyack 1967, p. 412). The subordinate status of classroom teachers is vividly symbolized by the roster of participants in these recurring academic brawls; the amplified voices have belonged to university presidents, freelance writers, eminent scholars, professors of education, leading citizens, and even an admiral of the United States Navy. But who recalls hearing the opinions of a classroom teacher? Even though the continued confrontations have had serious effects on the standing of teachers (e.g., the quality of their training is a frequent issue in considerations of professional status), the views of teachers have been muted. In this section, I shall turn to those who have undergone teacher training for their assessments of the process and its effects on them. My concern is less with the intermittent battles about the topic than with the question of how influential teachers' training is in shaping their occupational socialization. Since professional preparation is a major capital resource of teachers, we would expect them to protect it by avoiding

adverse criticism. Any readiness to discount or minimize the effectiveness and potency of their training must therefore be accorded serious attention.

My information on teachers' evaluations of their preparation programs indicates that they do not belong to either of the major camps arguing the matter of teacher education. They agree with those who feel that mastery of subject matter is important, but they are not prepared to say that specific preparation for pedagogical tasks is futile. They believe that their work is complicated and difficult and requires more than subject matter knowledge, but they are not strong defenders of the current level or kinds of pedagogical instruction being offered. They are, in fact, critical of the preparation they received.

These points are exemplified in a national study conducted by the National Education Association (NEA 1967, pp. 72-73). Few respondents complained about the amount of time spent on substantive study; 82 percent said that they spent "about the right amount of time" on general studies, and 76 percent said the same about their area of substantive specialization. Smaller percentages (but still the majority) expressed similar approval of time spent on studies which are related to teaching but not specifically to technique. These include "psychology of learning and teaching" (69 percent), "human growth and development" (73 percent), and "history and philosophy of education" (68 percent). Teachers were considerably less approving, however, of the practical instruction they received. More than half (52 percent) said they had too little preparation in "classroom management, routines, and discipline," and 57 percent said the same about "the use of audiovisual equipment and materials." And 36 percent complained that they did not have sufficient instruction in "teaching methods."

The judgment that they did not have enough instruction in the practical aspects of teaching is *not* coupled with universally favorable assessment of the training they did get. For although respondents gave high ratings to their substantive courses, smaller percentages approved their pedagogical instruction. The former kind of study got votes of 90 percent to 82 percent approval; the latter received favorable votes of 69 percent (teaching methods), 58 percent (classroom management, routines, and discipline), and 47 percent (use of audiovisual equipment and supplies).[4] Data gathered from a sample of beginning teachers yield higher percentages expressing disapproval of their practical courses (Hermanowicz 1966). Respondents criticize the more practical courses on two grounds—they did not have enough, and what they had, important numbers say, was not good enough. As we shall shortly see, respondents were much readier to praise practice teaching than practical courses in education.

What lies behind the lack of enthusiasm for practical courses in education? Two negative themes crop up: instruction is, teachers say, "too theoretical," and the intellectual content is thin—the courses are repetitive and boring (Hermanowicz 1966). The rhetoric is initially confusing: teachers seem to be saying that their least theoretical courses (method courses) are "too theoretical" whereas they praise courses in

disciplines which are usually more theoretical. But the confusion is apparently semantic; when teachers criticize education courses for being "too theoretical," they do not mean that the content is too abstract or general. They are not saying that methods courses contain too many concepts or too complex an ordering of ideas; such meanings would not fit with the accompanying charge that the intellectual content is sparse. "Too theoretical" means that the aims held out in such courses are excessively exalted, that they proffer impractical expectations and a utopian conception of classroom reality. The professors who teach such courses are said to be too remote from classroom exigencies; they proclaim goals which are unattainable and advocate behavior which is not feasible. The twin allegations "too theoretical" and "scant intellectual substance" seem to mean that professors of education inculcate high and difficult goals in students without providing the means for their achievement (Ladd 1966). The outcome is evidently frustrating; unable to reach the horizons pointed out to them, students must choose between seeing themselves as incompetent and seeing their prophets as false. They apparently lean toward the latter.

How are we to account for this pattern of grand ideals and scant strategy in teacher education? It may be related to ideology and to fads and fashions within the field. The stable ideological component is the egalitarian optimism of public education—the belief that educational attainment is possible and desirable for all. (We shall see other consequences of this ideology in chapter 5.) But that persistent theme has been supplemented by a series of fads and fashions in pedagogical thought over the last few decades—witness the sequence only partially described by such terms as "Life Adjustment," "Basic Education," "Scientific Manpower," and "Relevance." Ideologies like these are normally advanced by discrediting former practices and outlooks; Progressivism, for example, was often upheld by picturing earlier schools as cruel and repressive.

This repetitive discrediting of the past has contributed to the gap I mentioned earlier—the lack of systematic codification of practical experience. Teaching has not been subjected to the sustained, empirical, and practice-oriented inquiry into problems and alternatives which we find in other university-based professions. It has been permitted to remain evanescent; there is no equivalent to the recording found in surgical cases, law cases, and physical models of engineering and architectural achievement. Such records, coupled with the commentaries and critiques of highly trained professors, allow new generations to pick up where earlier ones finished. Research in education—until very recently a small-scale affair—has concentrated on learning rather than on teaching and has generally employed models and techniques at some distance from the realities of the classroom (Smith and Geoffrey 1968). The result is that to an astonishing degree the beginner in teaching must start afresh, largely uninformed about prior solutions and alternative approaches to recurring practical problems.

For example, beginning teachers face genuine dilemmas in resolving

the conflict between appropriate treatment of individual children and the demands of equity.[5] In matters of discipline they must match their response to the personality of a student with the classroom rules they themselves have set up. Teachers act in fishbowls; each child normally can see how the others are treated. Teachers also learn that they must create a system of rules early in the year and must behave consistently in terms of these rules (Smith and Geoffrey 1968). It is evident in their talk about this dilemma that they have had little or no preparation for it; they possess no special concepts (legal, philosophical, or sociological) for describing their plight or analyzing alternatives. Their professional training, in short, has not linked recurrent dilemmas to available knowledge or to condensations of reality (e.g., cases, simulations) where such issues are deliberated. The repudiation of past experience conjoins with intellectual isolation (a historical feature of teacher training) to produce curricula which extoll the highest virtues but fail to cope with routine tactical and strategic problems. It is small wonder, then, that teachers are not inclined to see themselves as sharing in a common "memory" or technical subculture. Since they have not received such instruction, they are forced to fall back upon individual recollections, which in turn are not displaced by new perspectives. Such a pattern encourages a conception of teaching as an individualistic rather than a collegial enterprise. We shall see later how teachers' attitudes conform to such a pattern.

The Mini-Apprenticeship of Practice Teaching

The closest thing to a genuine apprenticeship for teachers is the practice teaching they normally experience as undergraduates or as part of a postbachelor's program. I have noted that it is a short and relatively simple affair in which a student works alongside an established teacher and teaches classes under his watchful eye. But it is interesting that Mason's national study of beginning teachers shows that despite its limited duration, most teachers rank practice teaching ahead of courses in education in usefulness. After analyzing his data, Mason concludes that "practice teaching was valued by all types of beginning teachers," and "in all subgroups, practice teaching was more valued than education courses" (Mason 1961, p. 45). Hermanowicz (1966) found a similar pattern.

Understanding the dissatisfaction teachers feel about their courses helps us to understand their preference for practice teaching. Practice teaching has the texture of reality; it gives the student the distinct sense of movement toward his goal—teaching. The supervising teacher is concentrating not on an ideal state of affairs but on the how of teaching; and his suggestions can be demonstrated. Actual teaching gives the student teacher valuable reassurance. In a review I made of beginning teachers' diaries, it was manifest that their principal anxiety concerned whether they could actually conduct instruction.[6] Practice teaching helps to allay such doubts; even modest success affirms the choice of occupation. There are indications that teachers (at least in Five Towns)

remember those who supervised their practice teaching with special warmth.

It would be unwise, however, to credit practice teaching with more impact than its form permits. Practice teachers normally work with one teacher (or sometimes a small number) and thus get a limited view of teaching techniques. The restricted contact reduces the probability that the student teacher will be matched up with a truly sympathetic, congenial mentor; because of the varying conceptions people bring to teaching, mismatches may lessen influence. Supervising teachers do not usually receive any important reduction in workload or any significant compensation for their extra work. And there is no assurance that the supervisors are selected for ability to explain underlying rationales for decision-making. Because of its casualness and narrow scope, therefore, the usual practice teaching arrangement does not offset the unreflective nature of prior socialization; the student teacher is not forced to compare, analyze, and select from diverse possibilities. The risk is, of course, that practice teaching may simply expose the student to one more teacher's style of work. The value of practice teaching is attested to by many who have participated in it, but there is little indication that it is a powerful force away from traditionalism and individualism. It may be earthy and realistic when compared with education courses; but it is also short and parochial.

The Primacy of Personal Experience and Informal Exchange

Sink or Swim. The special quality of the teacher's early work experience is highlighted when we contrast it to classical arrangements for apprenticeship. Formal apprenticeship has important cognitive characteristics; the neophyte is ushered through a series of tasks of ascending difficulty and assumes greater responsibility as his technical competence increases. Apprenticeship illustrates the learning principle of "simple to complex sequence." When sequences are well timed (either through schedules which work well for many or through flexible provisions for advancement), apprentices are unlikely to accumulate enough anxiety to impede their learning. The classical forms of apprenticeship, moreover, support the beginner in two important ways; he receives personal assistance from co-workers and he gains mastery of the group's technical vocabulary and the knowledge nested in it. There are ancient crafts where prior general schooling is relatively unimportant and the novice can move from ignorance to mastery within the format of formal apprenticeship. In modern professions based on science and scholarship, the beginning worker may bring theoretical knowledge with him, as does the medical school graduate "up on the research" or the law clerk who has just studied the latest court decisions. There is an element of exchange in such instances; the tyro brings "book knowledge" to his masters, and they provide the skills of practice and the wisdom of experience.[7]

The circumstances of the beginning teacher differ. Fully responsible for the instruction of his students from his first working day, the beginning

teacher performs the same tasks as the twenty-five-year veteran. Tasks are not added sequentially to allow for gradual increase in skill and knowledge; the beginner learns while performing the full complement of teaching duties. The anxiety so induced is exacerbated by his probationary status; Jersild found widespread anxiety among beginning teachers (Jersild 1966). If it is true that too much anxiety retards learning, some beginning teachers will have difficulty making accurate perceptions and thoughtful decisions as they learn the job.

Anxiety is increased by the limited support teachers receive in the demanding early months. As we shall see a little later, they turn to others for help, preferring the informal exchange of opinions and experience to reliance upon the hierarchy. But the cellular organization of schools constrains the amount and type of interchange possible; beginning teachers spend most of their time physically apart from colleagues. Beginners receive more supervisory attention from principals and others, but even where the school system can afford the best of such assistance, it rarely amounts to more than a few hours a month. Since the beginner spends so much of his time away from other adults, it falls upon him to discern problems, consider alternative solutions, make a selection, and, after acting, assess the outcome. Jackson's observations convinced him that classroom teachers make hundreds of decisions daily; the probability is low that an experienced colleague will be present during anything but a small fraction of the beginner's decision-making (Jackson 1968). Edgar and Warren (1969) have shown, however, that beginners do tend to move toward the values of the supervisors who evaluate them. But it is unlikely that such influence can match that exercised by senior colleagues who work closely with them. One thinks of a shop where beginners and experienced mechanics jointly observe common problems, collectively consider alternative solutions, and as a group witness the success or failure of attempts to solve the problem.

Because of his isolation the beginning teacher frequently works things out as best he can before asking for assistance; Blau has documented the resistance workers feel to indiscriminate advice-seeking (Blau 1955). When his untutored eye identifies a difficulty, he may request help. But there is a secondhand quality to such assistance: if the advisor is not someone who regularly visits the classroom, the teacher must describe the situation. The advisor may offer suggestions, but the beginner must attempt a solution and decide on his own whether it has sufficed. The beginner's perceptions and interpersonal skills mediate between external advice and classroom events; his learning is limited by his personal resources—the acuity of his observation and his capacity to take effective action.

The gaps in interpersonal support are matched by weaknesses in the subculture of classroom teachers; although there are indications that peers influence newcomers, there is little to suggest that this amounts to a significant sharing of common understanding and techniques. Haller analyzed my interview tapes from Five Towns and found a very low proportion of words which are not commonly used; since the interview dealt with teaching, it should have elicited a technical vocabulary shared by

teachers (Haller 1966). Teaching is not like crafts and professions, whose members talk in a language specific to them and their work. Thus the absence of a common technical vocabulary limits a beginner's ability to "tap into" a preexisting body of practical knowledge. Without such a framework, the neophyte is less able to order the flux and color of daily events and can miss crucial transactions which might otherwise be encoded in the categories of a developed discourse. Each teacher must laboriously construct ways of perceiving and interpreting what is significant. That is one of the costs of the mutual isolation which attends the absence of a common technical culture.

The beginning months of teaching, therefore, can be something of an ordeal, as the comments of Five Towns teachers indicate. It is important to observe, however, that the ordeal is private—it is not an experience shared by a cadre of teachers. I have explored the ramifications of the lack of a shared ordeal elsewhere; we can say here that that shared ordeal seems to contribute to the solidarity and collegial feeling found in established professions (Lortie 1968). Courses in education are not "tough" enough to lead to collective strategies and deep sharing among students; the entry to work is person by person, each working largely in isolation from others.[8] Whatever the effects of private ordeal may be, it is not likely that they build the common bonds which help construct a common occupational subculture. Its privateness reinforces the individualism we have already encountered.

The Limited Influence of the School Hierarchy. The structure of public schooling which emerged from the nineteenth century had two major mechanisms for improving teacher performance. One was a modified principle of professionalization based upon faith in increased general and special schooling. The second was the principle of bureaucratic control wherein administrative superiors would raise performance levels by supervising teachers. We have seen that the first principle has not produced a powerful technical culture to guide teachers in their pedagogical behavior. But the second remains: Is there evidence to suggest that a technical culture of teaching resides in the supervisory arrangements in public schools?

Whatever knowledge may be possessed by those charged with supervisory duties, that knowledge cannot be said to control teacher behavior if teachers themselves choose to pay little heed. We shall not concentrate, then, on the enormous task of assessing the knowledge of those in positions of school leadership; we shall, rather, examine teachers' perceptions of the role supervisors play in their daily work. Do teachers think of themselves as responding to the initiations of superiors? Do they see superordinates as major sources of technical help? We shall rely on data from Dade County and a national NEA survey to answer these questions.

Teachers in Dade County were asked how "good teachers" gauge the effectiveness of their teaching. They were given a choice between the reactions of students, teachers familiar with their work, the principal,

other supervisors, test and examination results, and the teacher's "general observation of students in light of the teacher's conception of what should be learned" (question T1, App. B-2). The question produced a heavily modal response; 59.1 percent selected the last alternative, the essentially individualistic position. That response exceeded by 45.6 percent the next most frequent choice, the results of tests and examinations. (Since many tests and examinations are composed and graded by teachers, some of those responses also point to reliance upon self rather than others.) The modal selection is an even greater challenge to the assumptions of hierarchical control when we note that "good teachers" not only monitor their own progress but do so in terms of *teacher* conceptions of instructional goals. Nor was this the view solely of experienced teachers who are presumably more sure of their command over classroom exigencies; 64 percent of the younger teachers (those in their twenties) chose that alternative. These teachers give assent to norms which reflect dependence on self rather than others and personally held rather than "vertically authoritative" opinions. There are several implications to this viewpoint; one is that teachers who hold to it (and they constitute a large majority in an important sample) put themselves in the "gatekeeper" position over activity in their classrooms. They picture themselves as standing between the students and "external" influence; it is incumbent upon them to assess classroom events in light of their personal judgment.

It is important to observe, however, that teachers do *not* say that they work without assistance from others. But it is interesting that they accord secondary position to officially designated sources of help. This pattern is observable in Hermanowicz's study and in Dade County. Hermanowicz reports that the beginning teachers he studied were lukewarm or negative about the help they got from those officially designated as their sources of supervision and assistance (Hermanowicz 1966). Dade County teachers included administrators among those assisting them, but less frequently than they included classroom teachers (question 39, App. B-2). They clearly preferred the help they obtained from those closest to them in rank; they mentioned teachers (including department and grade chairmen) 53 percent of the time and full-time administrators 43 percent of the time, and most of their administrative choices (28 percent) were the lower-ranked assistant principals. and curriculum assistants. Younger teachers (again those in their twenties) were even more inclined to turn to peers; they mentioned other teachers 58 percent of the time and full-time administrators 37 percent.

The secondary position of administrators is reflected in another set of responses obtained in Dade County. Respondents were asked to select the most important source of "ideas and insight on my work," from a list including in-service courses, reading, college courses, meetings in the system and elsewhere, their immediate superior, and "informal conversations with colleagues and friends" (question 37, App. B-2). The last was clearly the modal choice from this mixed list; informal interactions with peers were chosen by 37 percent of the total sample and by 47 percent of teachers in their twenties. Informal channels are preferred to the

institutionalized means, and the peer group rather than administrative superiors (or, indeed, college professors) is seen as the most salient source of classroom ideas.

That teachers do not depend greatly on the school hierarchy for technical assistance is supported by responses to a national survey conducted by the NEA (1967). When questioned about activities which might "contribute to professional growth," respondents showed limited enthusiasm for school-based programs. In-school activities received modal ratings as "some contribution" or "little or no contribution," whereas external activities (usually college-based) were evaluated more positively; in three instances they were modally ranked as making a "great contribution" (p. 85). It is noteworthy that respondents indicate greater enthusiasm for continuing university study than for their pre-service instruction. It may be true, as some suggest, that pedagogical instruction makes more sense *after* one has taught awhile. There may be another factor as well; summer and part-time courses for teachers often provide a forum for the exchange of information among experienced teachers and may thereby benefit from the preference for exchanges with peers. Teachers, in any event, do not seem unduly impressed with the supervisory resources available within school districts. Elsbree argues that such systems were created to improve the quality of teaching; he states that this objective was the major rationale, in fact, for creating the administrative hierarchy (1939, p. 164). If the testimony of teachers is a reliable indicator of the influence of supervisors, that rationale is not an overpowering one today.

The data at our disposal, therefore, underscore the individualistic convictions of classroom teachers; they see themselves as the key figures in monitoring classroom affairs. They do not deny the utility of help from other sources, but they clearly rate informal peer exchanges above official systems of supervision. It would be foolhardy to say that the officials who supervise teachers have no influence over their daily work, but it would be risky, in my view, to think that supervisory arrangements constitute a potent repository of technical knowledge.

The Terms of Informal Exchange. We arrive at a difficult question. Teachers, we see, work largely alone; there is little indication that they share a common technical culture. Yet we have observed that they turn to one another for assistance and consider such peer help their most important source of assistance. The observations seem somewhat discordant, some suggesting individualism and others mutuality of influence. How are we to resolve this apparent contradiction?

The interviews gathered in Five Towns are most helpful, for they point to beliefs and practices which make individualism and mutual assistance compatible. After reviewing the responses teachers gave to a question on how they learned to teach, we will examine the themes which permeate their talk about mutual influence.

Five Towns teachers said experience was their major means of learning how to teach (question 51, App. B-1). Two-thirds emphasized classroom experience, with 44 percent indicating employment as teachers and 23

percent practice teaching. More than a third (38 percent) said other teachers taught them their craft: 20 percent alluded to peers and 18 percent to former teachers. The same smaller percentage of teachers mentioned courses in education and experiences entirely *outside* school matters; in this sample, formal pedagogical instruction had no greater valence than experiences in recreational work or motherhood (15 percent in both instances). Smaller numbers credited in-service programs, school officials, and professional reading. The pattern is similar to the data we have already discussed; personal experience is supplemented by collegial influence, and formal agencies of socialization are secondary to informal ones.

The richness of interview data permits analysis which cannot be undertaken with self-administered questionnaires. I reviewed the protocols to uncover what role respondents accorded to influences from other teachers and how such influence was connected with personal experience. One central theme stood out: time and again, Five Towns teachers insisted that they adopted the ideas of peers on a highly *selective* basis. They qualified statements on what they had learned from other teachers and were clearly reluctant to present themselves as imitating colleagues. Their talk underlines the idea of *adapting* others' practices to their personal styles and situations. They do not refer to learning general principles of instruction from colleagues; when they do refer to peer influences, they talk about specific kinds of classroom activity. They describe the "tricks of the trade" they picked up—not broader conceptions which underlie classroom practice.

The respondents qualified the flow of interpersonal influence in two ways. First, to be adopted a practice must be seen as consistent with the receiver's personality and "way of doing things." They portray the diffusion of classroom practices as passing through the screen of the teacher's self-concept—of the way he visualizes his peculiar style of work. Thus the individualism and gatekeeping we saw earlier are reaffirmed: the teacher mediates between ideas and their use in terms of the kind of teacher he is. The assumption associated with such screening is particular rather than general; techniques are not efficacious for everyone, since their value depends on the personal context.

The second major qualifier is closely linked to the first. The value of any collegial practice is unknown until the receiving teacher has tried it in the classroom and decided that "it works." The criterion of suitability to self is supplemented by a pragmatism of a highly personal sort. The practice must work "for me," and the teacher is the judge of what works.

> This is the only valid way of learning how to teach—by getting in and doing it. You can observe and watch to see what someone else is doing but it doesn't mean it is going to work for you. [#38 F-35-3d]

> Really, trial and error . . . and then asking others and talking and listening to them. I like to listen because they are so completely different and I try to take what I think will help me from each of them. [#9 F-23-2d]

> I don't think there's any way around trial and error . . . not that you do it any old way . . . . But you have to experiment and find a way to teach

> which is best for you so that you're not under strain and that's easiest for the children. . . . No one can give you a lesson plan and say go to it this way because what works for one may be poor for another. [#47 F-32-1st]

> Thinking of some of the successful teachers, teachers who appeal to me and who also fit my personality or at least I think fit my personality. Observing methods that other teachers use and my own application of them, fitting them to my personality. [#11 M-41-Science]

The criteria used for screening remind one of artistic rather than scientific conceptions of work; practices which suit the person of the teacher become candidates for admission to his kit of regular behaviors and are then tried out. The personal nature of such selections is even more manifest when teachers justify their practices on the basis of their individual experience as students. What worked on me, they say, despite its possible uniqueness, will work on others:

> I think the good teachers that I've had. The ones that have impressed me with the knowledge they have and the discipline they keep. [#20 F-54-1st]

> I think perhaps you might tend to look back on your own education and pick individuals whom you thought were successful and perhaps try to copy their style. [#14 M-33-6th]

> I remember how I would feel. I remember why I would like someone . . . or why I did not like a teacher. I think just remembering these things can give you a general idea of what you want to do, what you want to be and what you want your children to think of you. [#67 F-24-3d]

Five Towns teachers, therefore, seem to balance individualism with some degree of mutual influence, primarily by reserving the right to assess any possible addition to their repertoires in strictly personal terms. The conceptions voiced by Five Towns teachers (conceptions which are consistent with other data) are not those of colleagues who see themselves as sharing a viable, generalizable body of knowledge and practice. There is little idea of a "state of the art." Such a viewpoint presumes that there are identifiable principles and solutions which are possessed by all those within the colleague group. The image projected is more individualistic; teachers are portrayed as an aggregate of persons each assembling practices consistent with his experience and peculiar personality. It is not what "we, the colleagues" know and share which is paramount, but rather what *I* have learned through experience. From this perspective, socialization into teaching is largely *self-socialization;* one's personal predispositions are not only relevant but, in fact, stand at the core of becoming a teacher.

Summary and Implications

Socialization, as found in teaching, places the occupation between those marked by casual entry and those in which protracted and difficult demands are made on would-be members. College attendance and some

specialized schooling are required; members of the occupation, however, depreciate the latter. Mediated entry is part of preservice training and is at most a minor apprenticeship: the transition from college student to responsible teacher is abrupt. Years of unformulated experience as a student precede formal socialization; teachers themselves emphasize the importance of the private experiences they have as beginning teachers.

This kind of socialization sequence leaves room for the emergence and reinforcement of idiosyncratic experience and personal synthesis. In neither structure not content is it well suited to inculcating commonly held, empirically derived, and rigorously grounded practices and principles of pedagogy. The lessons taught by early yet persisting models rest on chance and personal preference; training in pedagogy does not seem to fundamentally alter earlier ideas about teaching. Teachers say that their principal teacher has been experience; they learned to teach through trial and error in the classroom. They portray the process as the acquisition of personally tested practices, not as the refinement and application of generally valid principles of instruction. They insist that influences from others are screened through personal conceptions and subjected to pragmatic trial. The connotations of the term "socialization" seem somewhat askew when applied to this kind of induction, since they imply greater receptivity to a preexisting culture than seems to prevail. Teachers are largely "self-made"; the internalization of common knowledge plays only a limited part in their movement to work responsibility.

Socialization patterns in teaching affect many aspects of the occupation, and I will refer to such consequences at various points throughout the book. I should like to mention three specific effects here: (1) the constraints socialization places on the status of the group; (2) the subjective costs it imposes on teachers; and (3) the relationship between socialization and the occupational conservatism discussed in previous chapters.

Teachers' doubts about possessing a common technical culture affect their collective status in two ways: they make them less ready to assert their authority on educational matters and less able to respond to demands from society. An occupation is recognized as a profession in part because people believe that its members jointly possess arcane knowledge on matters of vital public concern; when that belief is held by key decision-makers like legislators, judges, and state officials, they take action to avoid whatever dangers may lie in permitting noninitiates to practice the trade. Leiberman (1956) shows that teachers have less control over such matters than do members of established professions; those charged with surveillance of the occupation's affairs do not believe that they require teacher participation. What part have teachers themselves played in perpetuating this point of view?

Professional recognition calls for delegating state powers to a group of practitioners; it is presumed that the group possesses collective knowledge not available to "laymen." Yet teachers do not hold the beliefs necessary to assuming such responsibility; they do not claim to be common partakers in a shared body of specialized knowledge or common contributors to "the state of the art." Their depreciation of their special schooling and their

individualistic conception of practice run counter to a view of the art as the common (and exclusive) property of initiates; their individualism, I believe, underlies their reluctance to press their case.

There is a tendency today to make greater demands on teachers as members of a common occupation. A case in point is the current emphasis on "accountability." Such demands are in all likelihood a response to teachers' assertiveness in collective bargaining, which I shall discuss at greater length in chapter 9. One perceives a dilemma for teachers here: not knowing how to think about productivity as a collective matter, they are forced back to individualistic responses which belie their resistance to individualized reward patterns. Since their conception of performance is individualistic, they find it difficult to develop strategies to raise the performance level of the group; they do not know how to plan increases in the potency of the technical culture. This incapacity to respond to demands *as a group* poses a threat to the status of the occupation.

The individualism of teacher socialization also creates subjective problems for members of the occupation. People in other lines of work also have occasion to doubt their personal efficacy and the value of the services they offer. But in fields where people perceive their knowledge (and their ignorance) as jointly shared, the individual burden is reduced. A person can take comfort from his compliance with normal expectations within the occupation; he can feel that he did everything possible within "the state of the art." (Physicians so argue when they are charged with malpractice.) Thus the individual can cope with unpleasant outcomes by sharing the weight of his failure and guilt; his inadequacy is part of the larger inadequacy of the field. Teachers derive little consolation from this source; an individualistic conception of practice exacerbates the burden of failure.

In conclusion, we note that individualistic socialization supports the conservatism we observed in the record of the occupation and the recruitment system. There is some direct effect; we saw that the "apprenticeship-of-observation" laid the basis for traditional, intuitive approaches to teaching. Teachers seem to emerge from their induction experiences with a strongly biographical orientation to pedagogical decision-making.

But perhaps the most important conservative influences are indirect. The lack of potency in the formal socialization system means that earlier conservative influences (such as those described in chapter 2) are not systematically offset in the course of induction. Teachers do not, apparently, acquire new standards to correct and reverse earlier impressions, ideas, and orientations. Nor does later work experience supplement low impact training with a general conception of teaching as a shared intellectual possession. Science, for example, would probably not change too much even if it recruited more conservative persons; once engaged in scientific work, scientists participate in a reward system which generates and reinforces novel ideas and proofs. As we shall see in the next chapter, the career lines of teachers do little to encourage sustained concern with the technical resources of the occupation.

2

Developmental stages of preschool teachers

Lilian G. Katz

Source: Lilian G. Katz, 'Developmental stages of preschool teachers', *Elementary School Journal*, vol. 73, October 1972, pp. 50–4.

Preschool teachers can generally be counted on to talk about developmental needs and stages when they discuss children (1). It may also be meaningful to think of teachers themselves as having developmental sequences in their professional growth (2).

There may be at least four developmental stages for teachers. Individual teachers may vary greatly in the length of time spent in each of the four stages outlined here and schematised in Figure 1.

Stage 1: survival

During Stage 1, which may last throughout the first full year of teaching, the teacher's main concern is whether she can survive. This preoccupation with survival may be expressed in questions the teacher asks: 'Can I get through the day in one piece? Without losing a child? Can I make it until the end of the week? Until the next vacation? Can I really do this kind of work day after day? Will I be accepted by my colleagues?' Such questions are well expressed in Ryan's enlightening collection of accounts of first-year teaching experiences (3).

The first full impact of responsibility for a group of immature but vigorous young children (to say nothing of encounters with their parents) inevitably provokes teachers' anxieties. The discrepancy between anticipated successes and classroom realities intensifies fellings of inadequacy and unpreparedness.

During this period the teacher needs support, understanding, encouragement, reassurance, comfort, and guidance. She needs instruction in specific skills and insight into the complex causes of behaviour—all of which must be provided on the classroom site. On-site instructors may be senior staff members, advisors, consultants, or program assistants who know the beginning teacher and her teaching situation well. Training must be constantly and readily available. The trainer should have enough time and flexibility to be on call as needed. Schedules of periodic visits that have been arranged in advance cannot be counted on to coincide with crises. Cook and Mack (4) describe the British pattern of on-site training given

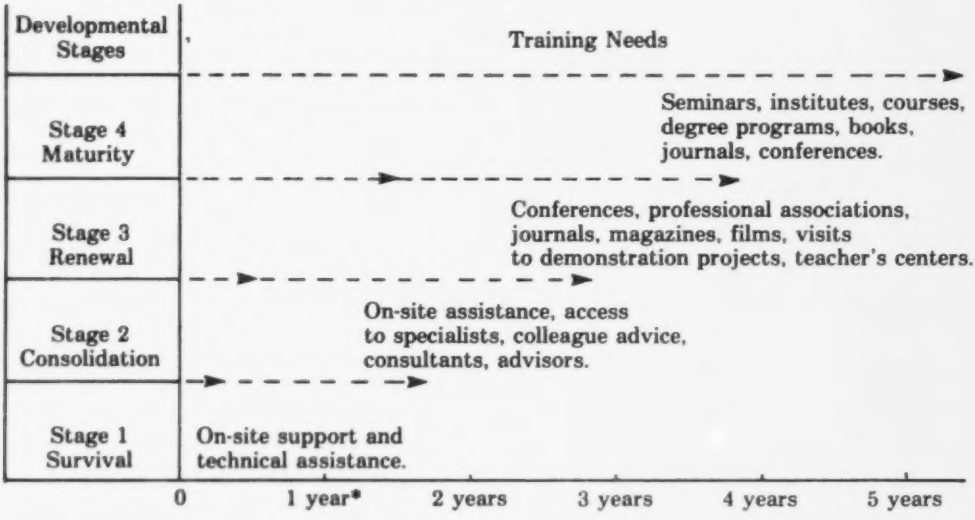
to teachers by their headmasters (principals). Armington also tells how advisors can meet the needs of these teachers (5).

Stage 2: consolidation

By the end of the first year the teacher has usually decided that she can survive. She is now ready to consolidate the gains made during the first stage and to differentiate tasks and skills to be mastered next. During Stage 2, teachers usually begin to focus on individual children who pose problems and on troublesome situations. The teacher may look for answers to such questions as: 'How can I help a shy child? How can I help a child who does not seem to be learning?'

During Stage 1, the beginning teacher acquires a base line of information about what young children are like and what to expect of them. By Stage 2, the teacher is beginning to identify individual children whose behavior departs from the pattern of most of the children she knows.

FIG. 1.—Stages of Development and Training Needs of Preschool teachers



*Time periods approximate

During this stage, on-site help continues to be valuable. A trainer can help the teacher by exploring a problem with her. Take the case of a young teacher from a day-care center who was eager to get help and asked: 'How should I deal with a clinging child?' An on-site trainer can observe the teacher and the child at the center and arrive at suggestions and tentative solutions fairly quickly. However, without firsthand knowledge of the child and the context, an extended give-and-take conversation between the teacher and trainer may be the best way for the trainer to help the teacher interpret her experience and move toward a solution of the problem. The trainer might ask the teacher, 'What have you done so far? Give examples of some experiences with this child during this week. When you did such and such, how did the child respond?' Other suggestions for helping children are offered by Katz (6).

At this stage, the teacher may find that she needs information about specific children or about children who pose problems. It will be helpful if she has a wide range of resources. Psychologists, social workers, health workers, and other specialists can strengthen the teacher's skills and knowledge at this time. Exchanges of information and ideas with more experienced colleagues may help teachers master the developmental tasks of this period. Opportunities to share feelings with other teachers at the same stage of development may reduce some of the inadequacy and the frustration the beginning teacher feels.

Stage 3: renewal

Often, during the third or fourth year of teaching, the teacher begins to tire of doing the same things. She asks questions about new developments in the field: 'Who is doing what? Where? What are some of the new materials, techniques, approaches, and ideas?' Perhaps what the teacher has been doing for each annual crop of children has been adequate for them, but she herself finds the seasonal Valentine cards, Easter bunnies, and pumpkin cutouts no longer interesting. If it is true that a teacher's own interest in the projects and the activities she provides for children contributes to their educational value, then her need for renewal and refreshment should be taken seriously.

During this stage, teachers find it rewarding to meet colleagues from various programs on both formal and informal occasions. Teachers at this developmental stage are particularly receptive to experiences in regional and national conferences and workshops. Teachers at Stage 3 profit from membership in professional associations and participation in their meetings. Teachers are now widening the scope of their reading, scanning magazines and journals, and viewing films. During this period they may be ready to take a close look at their own classroom teaching through videotape recording. This is also a time when teachers welcome opportunities to visit other classes, programs, and demonstration projects.

Perhaps it is at this stage that the teachers' center has the greatest potential value (7, 8). Teachers' centers are places where teachers can meet to help one another learn or relearn skills, techniques, and methods. At these centers, teachers can exchange ideas and organise special workshops. From time to time specialists in curriculum, or child growth, or any other area of concern are invited to the center to meet with teachers.

Stage 4: maturity

Some teachers may reach maturity, Stage 4, within three years; others need five years or more. The teacher at this stage has come to terms with herself as a teacher. She now has enough perspective to ask deeper and more abstract questions, such as: 'What are my historical and philosophical roots? What is the nature of gro[illegible]nd learning? How are educational decisions made? Can schools [illegible]ange societies? Is teaching a profession?' Perhaps she has asked these questions before, but with the experience she now has, the questions represent a more meaningful search for insight, perspective, and realism.

Throughout maturity, teachers need an opportunity to participate in conferences and seminars, and perhaps to work toward a degree. Mature

teachers welcome the chance to read widely and to interact with educators working on many problem areas on many levels. Training sessions and conference events that teachers at Stage 2 enjoy may be tiresome to the teacher at Stage 4. Similarly, introspective and searching seminars that teachers at Stage 4 enjoy may lead to restlessness and irritability among the beginners at Stage 1.

It is useful to think of the growth of preschool teachers (and perhaps other teachers, also) as occurring in stages, linked generally to experience gained over time.

The training needs of teachers change as they gain experience, as they move from one stage to another. The issues dealt with in the traditional social foundations courses do not seem to address themselves to the early survival problems that are critical to the inexperienced teacher. However, for the maturing teacher, those same issues may help deepen her understanding of the total complex environment in which she is trying to be effective.

The location of training should change as the teacher develops. At the beginning of the new teacher's career, training resources must be taken to her so that training can be responsive to the particular (and possibly unique) developmental tasks and working situation she faces in her classroom. As the teacher moves on past the survival stage, training can move to the college campus.

The timing of training should be shifted so that more training is available to the teacher on the job than before it. Teachers say that their preservice education has only a minor influence on what they do day to day in their classrooms. The complaint suggests that strategies acquired before employment may seldom be used under the pressures of the job.

It is often said that experience is the best teacher. To make sure that the beginning teacher has informed and interpreted experience should be one of the major roles of the teacher trainer.

Notes

1 Lilian G. Katz and Mary K. Weir, *Help for Preschool Teachers: A Proposal*, Urbana, Illinois: ERIC Clearinghouse on Early Childhood Education, 1969.
2 This paper was produced pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, United State Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official government position or policy.
3 Kevin Ryan (editor). *Don't Smile until Christmas: Accounts of the First Year of Teaching*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
4 Ann Cook and Herbert Mack. *The Head-teacher's Role*. New York: Citation Press, 1971.
5 David Armington. 'A Plan for Continuing Growth'. Newton, Massachusetts: Educational Development Center (mimeographed, no date).
6 Lilian G. Katz. 'Condition with Caution', *Young Children*. In Press.
7 Arlene Silberman. 'A Santa's Workshop for Teachers', *American Education*, 7 (December, 1971), 3-8.
8 Stephen K. Bailey. 'Teachers' Centers: A British First', *Phi Delta Kappan*, 53 (November, 1971), 146-49.

3

Situationally constrained strategies

Colin Lacey

Source: Colin Lacey, 'Situationally constrained strategies', in *The Socialization of Teachers*, Methuen, London, 1977, pp. 64–76.

Situationally constrained strategies

The effect of developing the concept of subject sub-cultures was to provide me, the observer, with a crude conceptual framework against which I could examine the 'talk' I listened to. Much of what I heard confirmed my ideas on the importance of subject sub-cultures, but increasingly as I participated in a wider range of group activities, the events I observed challenged my understandings.

I noticed that mixed subject discipline seminars were more formal and tense than seminars containing only one subject group. This confirmed a lack of communication between subject sub-cultures. However, in addition to this I noticed that individuals whom I knew quite intimately within their subject group sometimes behaved rather differently in a mixed seminar. For example, a biologist who played what could be described as a 'progressive' role in the biology seminar, advocating child-centred techniques and liberal educational reforms, became an advocate of formal academic standards and firm discipline within the mixed seminar. When I questioned him on this reversal, he found it difficult to accept that it had occurred, until I was able to detail the statements he had made and the context of the discussions. He resolved the problem after much perplexed heart-searching by remarking that, within the mixed seminar there were a couple of primary students 'who really get my goat'. It appeared to him that they were unrealistic in their outlook and needed bringing back to earth. It became apparent that he felt that the biologists in his subject group were different. He could rely on their commonsense and understand their outlook and problems. He therefore felt free to espouse progressive causes in the biology seminar.

The important point to notice is that the biology student decided which strategy was appropriate to each seminar and it was his appraisal of the situation in each seminar that gave rise to the change in behaviour. My own external view of the mixed seminar

had not been sufficient for me to interpret the change.

In other words, although the student composition of the seminar became a situational determinant of behaviour, giving rise to two recognizable and different strategies, it did not do so in any direct and automatic sense. This case illuminated two elements in the situation. It confirmed the existence of a set of understood values and orientations existing within the biology group (a subject sub-culture) and not among the mixed group of students. And it emphasized the importance of the student's interpretation of that situation and his ability to choose distinctive social strategies. This pointed to the necessity for modifying and elaborating the simple, rather deterministic model that had emerged.

The analysis has taken us back to the point at which we began this book: to the search for a less deterministic framework in which to study socialization. Interestingly, the idea on which it appears possible to build such a framework is contained in the notion of social strategy used earlier.

Let us consider the steps by which the deficiency in the original model was realized.

The observation of the contrasting strategies did not allow the observer to interpret why they had occurred until, firstly, it was clear the biology student recognized that specific differences between the biology and mixed groups existed. Secondly, it was clear that he intended to do something about establishing a balance which he saw as missing within the mixed seminar, particularly, counteracting the 'unrealistic' arguments of the primary students.

The observer had to know something about (1) the student's interpretation of the situation and (2) his purpose.

The incident with the biology student and my analysis of it led me to look out for more evidence of contrasting strategies, developed by individual students, to deal with the differing situations in which they found themselves. It was not long before I obtained examples that illustrated many other types of differential constraint. For example I observed and compared behaviour within seminars and behaviour outside seminars; behaviour within the classroom and behaviour in the staffroom; behaviour within the university and behaviour within schools.

At the same time I looked for evidence in the literature that other sociologists had dealt with the problem I faced. Like many problems in sociology there was a substantial theoretical literature with which I was already familiar. Starting with writers like G. H. Mead in the thirties and proceeding through Dennis Wrong's article (1961) on the oversocialized conception of man, there was a broad strand of symbolic interactionist and phenomenological writing with which I had much sympathy. Unfortunately there were few empirical studies that had developed a revelant conceptual framework. The field was reduced even further if one added the criteria that the conceptual framework had been worked out within a grounded theory approach. The work that came closest to this was research carried out by Howard Becker, Blanche Geer and Everett Hughes (1961) on medical students.

Even within these studies there were two important, and re-

lated, points of difference with the present work. First, Becker and his team had stressed the homogeneity of student culture, secondly they had stressed the pervasive and determining influence of the formal university structure. I came to different conclusions on both these issues but have nevertheless leaned heavily on Becker's use of concepts like culture, latent culture and perspective in developing the theoretical framework in the account that follows.

On the question of a student culture Becker wrote: 'Whether one sees one student culture or many on a campus is partly a matter of the researcher's choice.' The use of the term 'partly' makes it impossible to disagree with this statement. The use of 'partly' also obscures the issue because it is the other part of the procedure that is important. It is not sufficient simply to state '... students seem to us to be very much alike. We have found it more useful to think and talk about one student culture than to think about many student cultures'. It is necessary to generate and examine evidence of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of student culture. In this book we have examined evidence about subject subcultures because of the importance of making an *informed* judgment about them in relation to the process of becoming a teacher.

Becker expresses the lack of differentiation in student perspectives indirectly as well as directly. His constant references to 'the students' and 'student perspectives' gives his reader the impression of unity and wholeness without Becker having to muster a supporting argument. The clearest illustration of this technique occurs in *Boys in White* (1961). When describing the way faculty influence student perspectives he writes: 'The faculty and administration have a tremendous amount of power over the students and, in principle, can control student activities very tightly and cause students to act in whatever fashion they (the faculty) want. To the degree that the faculty actually exercises such power, students will have no opportunity to build their own perspectives and will simply take over ideas formed on them by the faculty ...'

It is clear from this quotation that the lack of emphasis on the possibility of differentiation becomes linked in Becker's analysis with the lack of student autonomy in the development of perspectives.

The lack of student autonomy expressed here by Becker is both surprising and worrying. There is clearly a need for an additional concept that expresses the autonomy of the individual in the face of coercive social pressures as the term 'anti-group sub-culture' developed in my analysis of student cultures in *Hightown Grammar* (1970) expresses the possibility of autonomous subcultural developments within a parent culture. The term I propose for this purpose is 'social strategy'.

The term 'strategy' is appropriate because it implies a purposive, guiding, autonomous element, within individual and group behaviour. It is clear that the uniformities in human behaviour, which give rise to recognizable patterns in research, indicate that individual social strategies for the most part comply with or are modified by constraining social forces. The implication here is that the constraints of the situation and the *indi-*

vidual's purpose within that situation must be taken into account.

A social strategy is reducable to actions and ideas but it is only interpretable in the context of a specific situation. A social strategy involves the act or in the selection of ideas and actions and working out their complex interrelationships (action-idea systems) in a given situation. The selection of these action-idea systems as a student moves from situation to situation, need not be consistent. For example, the student may select a permissive action-idea system for a university seminar but an authoritarian one for a school classroom. The justification for this change might be a consciously thought out argument or it can be suppressed. In the first case, the social strategy is conscious, in the second case sub-conscious. The apparent contradiction in the selection of social strategies can only be resolved by reference to the student and his changing view of what represents the 'real' world and his relationship to it. I can illustrate this by referring to a commonly occurring series of events experienced by the students we studied.

The first time the student teacher uses an authoritarian strategy within the classroom, shouting, threatening or demanding order, he or she often sees it as a last resort, a temporary solution and not 'really them'. They frequently report viewing themselves from outside. 'Was that really me? It was horrible.' As the student resorts more and more frequently to this strategy, he or she needs more and more to justify its use and to rehearse the arguments with others to obtain reassurance and support.

The frequent resort to a particular social strategy, colours the perception and world view of the student and eventually the qualified teacher. The model being constructed here envisages a state of constant flux; constant competition between individuals in the selection of strategies and a changing balance. The individual is in a constant dialogue with himself about his position. An apparently static position is only obtained through achieving a balance in this dynamic system. The individual produces a constant formula for using certain strategies in certain situations and rejecting others. The precariousness of this balance can be demonstrated by studying changes in apparently stable personalities when their position within a social system changes abruptly.

Socialization is here presented as a constant flow of choices facing an individual. The position of an individual at any given time is like the position of a canoeist on fast-flowing rapids. He can only hold the canoe in a stable position by expending a considerable amount of energy and constantly making many judgements and choices about his course of action. Our cohort of students is like a large batch of canoeists all setting out together on the rapids, learning the skills as they attempt to find some quiet water and stabilize their position. *They are doing this in competition with other canoeists and must bear their competitors in mind in the selection of strategies for survival and success.*

In our discussion so far we have used the terms culture, subculture, perspective and social strategy. It is now time to clarify them and see their inter-relationships.

We have already examined Becker's definition of culture with its emphasis on 'common problems' and the possibility of 'in-

tensive interaction' to produce solutions. Becker gives us an alternative definition of culture which links the concepts of culture and perspective.

> When we speak of student culture, we refer to a set of understandings shared by students and a set of actions congruent with those understandings. Student culture, from this point of view, is a shared way of looking at one's world and acting in it. To use other words, it is a set of perspectives on one's situation. This, of course, is one of the possible meanings of *culture*. In adding the qualifying adjective *student* to culture we mean to indicate that the understandings and actions grow up around the student's role as a student – they are specific to the student role.

Becker is not always clear about the way sub-cultures aggregate to form a culture and the way perspectives contribute to make up a culture. I think it becomes clearer if we realize that the common elements of solutions generated by individual students to solve their own problems have a life outside the situation. Because once a student knows that a problem facing him has been solved by others in a particular way it influences his search for a solution. Once developed these solutions contribute to the constraints in other similar situations. The more these solutions are copied and accepted as the way to solve problems the more they become an unchallenged part of social life. Perspectives exist on a different level of generalization and development to the idea of culture. Perspective describes a stage in the development of culture. Becker gets close to this in the following quotation (Hughes, Becker and Geer, 1958):

> The student's interpretation of specific events and issues tends to be made in categories that are part of the *student culture* ... It is not that the student must abide by these informal and hardly conscious agreements, but rather that they *constrain* his thinking and *perspective* almost without his being aware of it ...
>
> (my emphasis)

We can now see that sub-culture differs from perspective because sub-culture is simply a variant of the total culture, a sub-division at about the same level of generalization. It is a heuristic sub-division of the term culture and needs no separate definition.

The link between sub-cultures, perspectives and social strategies can now be spelled out.

As a group of individuals develop or acquire a sense of common purpose, so the sets of strategies adopted by them acquire a common element. It is this common element that enables the common perspective to emerge. As the perspective develops, and if over a long period of time, the situations that continually face the group have a common element, then the understandings broaden and develop to produce a sub-culture. The mark of the sub-culture is that its most important elements are not immediately lost if the individual leaves the group and the common situation of the group members. Perspectives are more quickly taken up and dropped than sub-cultures. To be sure the elements

of sub-culture are often suppressed and can be almost completely covered by later behaviour patterns but the supposition here is that these elements effect changes deep within the personality structure of the individual and are responsible for the richness, complexity and uniqueness of individual personality. Jackson and Marsden (1962) have illustrated the way in which some upwardly mobile working-class pupils suppress, compensate for or react against their working-class culture. Becker has expressed the position of individuals who leave one sub-culture and enter a new activity, as possessing a 'latent culture', that is 'the culture has its origin and social support in a group other than the one in which the members are now participating'. The individual takes with him characteristics of the previous group, which are *potential*. They need to be developed to provide social strategies in the new setting. This is a valuable idea, and one that will be used in the description of student-teacher socialization that follow. It is important to tie the idea of 'latent culture' in with the concept of social strategy. Latent culture provides the basis for but also limits the number of strategies available to an individual in any given situation. For example, a scientist student-teacher is unlikely to be able to impress a mixed seminar which includes a number of student-teachers who are arts graduates, with his breadth of reading in literature. Depending on how markedly the latent culture or subculture limits social strategies and how difficult these limitations are to overcome, there will be a simple or a complex array of perspectives in the new institution. In situations, such as a school where social class is a latent culture, working-class pupils will have a limited choice of strategies and the limitations will be difficult to overcome.

The active, creative ingredient introduced into the model of adult socialization described here is dependent on the idea of individual purpose contained in the notion of social strategy. Individuals compete within situations in selecting and implementing favoured strategies. There can be no completely homogeneous response in a normal situation because as soon as one individual makes a move, the situation has changed and some options are now less satisfactory than others to the remaining members of the group. If, for example, in a classroom one pupil shows he has done all the learning and knows all the answers, some pupils will begin to see that competition along these lines (a 'good pupil' strategy) is not likely to succeed. Others may feel there is still some point in competing. The continuation of interaction produces a differentiation of strategies. The identification of a person with a strategy or set of strategies causes some stability in the process. The attachment of the individual to his reputation becomes a factor in the choice of future strategies. There is a sense in which differentiation and common understanding proceed together, for while the pupils are being identified with the strategies they choose, they are also developing common perspectives as pupils because they all adopt strategies that are recognizably appropriate to pupils. The innovation of new strategies complicates the picture at this point. Some innovations are immediately defined as inappropriate and the pupil expelled or punished, others become part of a changing array of

recognized, although by no means equally valued strategies, available to subsequent cohorts of pupils.

I have criticized Becker for failing to provide a conceptual framework in which this differentiation is given the prominence it deserves. The importance of this omission is underlined when we consider social change and the way Becker fails to see in the process of adult socialization a potent source of change in institutions. Becker's construction of socialization frees man from enslavement to his past, from a determinism based on personality, 'some unchanging components in the self or personality', but instead enslaves him to the present, 'the individual turns himself into the kind of person the situation demands' (Becker, 1971). According to Becker institutions remain stable with change being handed down from the top and cohorts are socialized by the process of 'situational adjustment'. As he expresses it:

> Situations occur in institutions: stable institutions provide stable situations in which little change takes place. When the institutions themselves change, the situations they provide for their participants shift and necessitate development of new patterns of belief and action. When, for instance, a university decides to up-grade its academic programme and begins to require more and different kinds of work from its students, they must adjust to the new contingencies with which the change confronts them. (14)

Adjustment of this sort in which the individual is constantly transforming himself into 'the kind of person the situation demands' is only one part of the process of adult socialization. It may be the most important part in the process, but that is an empirical question. I intend for the purpose of this chapter to subsume 'situational adjustment' under the broader heading of 'social strategy'. It becomes a variety of social strategy. Two varieties of situational adjustment are readily recognizable:

1 Strategic compliance, in which the individual complies with the authority figure's definition of the situation and the constraints of the situation but retains private reservations about them. He is merely seen to be good.
2 Internalized adjustment, in which the individual complies with the constraints and believes that the constraints of the situation are for the best. He really is good.

Social strategies also include action-idea systems that are innovative within situations and change them. These innovations can be small scale and idiosyncratic or collective and large scale, in which case quite large scale institutional changes can take place. As Blumer (1966) wrote: 'With the mechanism of self-interaction, the human being ceases to be a responding organism whose behaviour is a product of what plays upon him from the outside, the inside or both. Instead, he acts towards his world interpreting what confronts him and organising his action on the basis of the interpretation.'

Social strategies are, therefore, selected or created and guided

by a wide range of factors including, as we have seen, the individual's interpretation of the situation, but one factor that must not be neglected is *the ability of the performer*. A good performance can result in a strategy being acceptable in a situation where it had previously been unacceptable. The idea of adjustment to the situation overlooks one important point. As far as the organization is concerned the situation is usually 'defined' according to the *interpretation* of the organizationally most powerful person taking a part in the social drama.

This person can be and often is influenced in making his interpretation by the quality of the performance.

Strategic redefinition of the situation implies that change is brought about by individuals who do not possess the formal power to do so. They achieve change by causing or enabling those with formal power to change their interpretation of what is happening in the situation. This final category of social strategy is not meant to provide an exhaustive classification. It is intended to redress the balance in the literature. Let us return to the teaching profession to consider the importance of this type of strategy. While it must be recognized that student-teachers have no formal power to change schools they do possess important advantages in employing redefinition strategies. For example, teacher-tutors frequently mentioned that they were pleased to have Sussex students in their schools because the students brought with them up to date ideas in their subject and new ideas about ways of teaching it. The teacher-tutors also frequently pointed to the importance to them of having to rethink their ideas about their own teaching methods in order to explain them to the students. Several tutors mentioned that they had got into a rut and having students had helped them to realize it. One or two mentioned that the students had enabled them to try out new ideas that they had been waiting to try for several years. They had been unable to do so because of lack of resources within the school. For these tutors experiments in small group teaching only became possible when the two students arrived from the university.

An important final point to note is that the introduction of the concept of social strategy changes the weight carried by the Becker concept of perspective. Recognizable, action-idea systems now fall within the concept of social strategy. Perspective takes on a meaning much closer to its dictionary definition 'relation in which parts of subject are viewed by the mind, view, prospect'.

The following list outlines the changes that have been made to Becker's conceptual farmework.

Table 3.4

Becker *et al.*	Redefinition for this study
Culture	Definition accepted.
Sub-culture	Difference with culture made explicit – used to illuminate the sub-cultural differentiation of student culture on subject discipline lines.
Latent culture	Definition accepted.
Perspective	Accepted but modified to exclude action.
Situational perspective	Accepted but once again the 'action' outcomes are excluded.
Social strategy – not used.	New concept developed to include 'action' and 'purpose' of actor.
Situational adjustment	Accepted but subsumed under social strategy as a type of strategy – also sub-divided into strategic compliance and internalized adjustment.
Strategic redefinition – not used	New concept. Another sub-type of social strategy in which the actor is active in changing the socializing institution.

Quite clearly the process of acceptance and redefinition of these concepts proceeded slowly during the period of fieldwork and analysis. The emergence of the concept of social strategy, however, did come early enough in the research for some questionnaire items to be designed to examine the way student-teachers dealt with contrasting situations, for example, of the kind that gave rise to the biology students' apparently inconsistent behaviour. In one question they were asked how they dealt with situations in which differences existed between their E-tutor at the university and their teacher-tutor at the school. These strategies are looked into in some detail in the next chapter but it is useful to illustrate the conscious use of strategic compliance strategies in order to give flesh to the theoretical account. The following quotations are extracted from the questionnaires:

> Often it wasn't worth bringing conflict with teacher-tutor to a head, since there was a definite non-communication and it was a waste of precious school time. It was more useful and peaceful to go away and do your own thing quietly.
>
> The teacher-tutor was, of necessity, more in favour of audio–visual methods than the E-tutor. This simply meant that in practical terms one used those aspects of the method in class that produced the best response and discussed the philosophical impossibility of the entire exercise with the E-tutor.

These quotations will be examined again in the context of a descriptive analysis of the process of becoming a teacher but at this point they do serve to illustrate the resilience and the sophistication of the individual faced with conflicting institutional pressures. We can now express the process of change from student to student-teacher status using the concepts developed in this chapter.

I have suggested that the student's involvement with his subject goes much deeper than that usually implied by an orientation.

He is affected in a number of conscious and unconscious ways by a process of specialization that began five or even seven years earlier and may even at that stage have been based on special predispositions and abilities that he already possessed. The effect is to equip him with a knowledge of special meanings (language), special preoccupations (view of the world), analytical and conceptual frameworks and ways of posing questions and directions in which to look for answers (a methodology). The power of this special approach is balanced by a weakness in the interpretation of the approaches of others. A biologist is not equipped to think and feel like an English student, or vice versa, on a whole number of issues. When graduate students leave the subject departments in which they took their first degrees, the subject sub-culture, as we have described it, takes on the form of a latent culture. That is, the special skills and agreed upon meanings are only activated in so far as the new situations in which the student finds himself make them relevant. They provide him with an array of social strategies from which he can choose. The example in this chapter of the teaching styles of French language graduates teaching English is evidence that supports the idea of latent culture. Presumably, if university graduates were scattered on leaving university and took up a random selection of occupations among others of their cohort, these latent cultures would be of little relevance in the generation of new cultures and remain in a latent state. The perspectives and sub-cultures arising in the new situations would bear little resemblance to those existing in the university. Many aspects of student sub-culture are in fact discarded in this way.

As we have seen, one of the dominating experiences of the student-teacher training year is their experience as a teacher in a classroom. This experience is almost invariably as a subject teacher, the exception is the primary group. Aspects of the subject sub-culture are revived within the context of the school and become part of an emerging subject teacher perspective. It should be clear that in examining the emerging subject teacher perspective we are looking at a *new* phenomenon. There is not a complete revival of the university subject culture, which becomes a latent culture from which skills and shared meanings are selected and put to work in new situations. These new situations transmute the old latent culture strategies and a new perspective emerges. I call this emerging perspective a 'subject teacher perspective'.

We are now in a position to view the Sussex course not as a single stranded professional induction but as a multi-stranded process in which student teachers are moving towards a profession which is itself still striving towards common understandings in vital areas of its professional practice.

The next chapter looks at student-teacher socialization within a case study. It is important to stress the limitations of the case study approach. Generalization from such a study is little more than speculation. Its strength is in the depth and detail of the analysis and the guidance it provides for those approaching other studies of professional socialization or those seeking an understanding of their own predicament.

4

Self-confrontation reviewed: A conceptualialization for video playback in teacher education[1]

Frances F. Fuller
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Source: Frances F. Fuller & Brad A. Manning, 'Self-confrontation reviewed: A conceptualization for video playback in teacher education', *Review of Educational Research*, vol. 43, no. 4, 1973, pp. 469-528.

In the name of education, training, or therapy, thousands of people have "confronted" themselves. A cursory look at the recent literature reveals the use of video playback with many populations: alcoholics (Carrère, 1954, 1955, 1958; Muñoz, 1972; Paredes & Cornelison, 1968); basketball players (Cooper, 1970); boys on probation (Kidorf, 1963); brainstormers (Dillon et al., 1971); criminals (Berner, Grünberger, & Sluga, 1971); families (Alger & Hogan, 1967; Kaswan & Love, 1969; Paul, 1966; Perlmutter et al., 1967; Satir, 1964); psychiatrists (Berger, 1970); and salesmen (Brophy, 1971). Of course, football players see slow motion video replays and singers have long used mirrors. Students and teachers at every level and in almost every discipline have seen video tapes of themselves: in agriculture (Hedges, 1970); counseling (Cerra, 1969; Ivey, Normington, Miller, Morrill, & Haase, 1968; Poling, 1965; Yenawine & Arbuckle, 1971); drama (Weber, 1967); engineering (Perlberg, 1970); language (Calabro, 1969; Dugas, 1967; Eder, 1971); interpersonal communication (Solomon, Perry, & Devine, 1970); karate (Burkhard, Patterson, & Rapue, 1967); mathematics (Gall et al., 1971); religion (Hemrick, 1971); science (D. Butts, personal communication, 1972); and vocational-technical education (Perlberg et al., 1968; Cotrell & Doty, 1971a).

Preservice teachers are probably most often recipients of these services. More often than other groups they are required or expected to

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[1] This research was supported in part by the U. S. Office of Education, Contract No. OE 6-10-108 and the Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, Robert F. Peck and Oliver H. Bown, co-directors.

[2] Both authors accept responsibility for the ideas expressed. The second author was primarily responsible for directing the literature search and analysis, and the first author was responsible for conceptualization and writing. Both authors wish to acknowledge the protean contributions of Donna M. Buntaine and the assistance of Janet Acord, Carol Sue Case, Sara Kerr, Elizabeth Livingston, Yvonne Smith, Robert Taube, and Don Taylor.

participate when video taping is offered. It is impossible to estimate how many teacher education institutions require or suggest video playback, but many possess video equipment. In fact, the preservice program which lacks such equipment is simply not *au courant*.

Despite its wide application, the conceptual base for the use of self-confrontation in teacher education is rarely explicit. In psychotherapy, self-confrontation has been related to the theories of Sullivan and of Mead (Stoller, 1968b), to self-theory (Gergen, 1969) and to attribution and reinforcement models (Ronchi & Ripple, 1972). Behavior modification provides the base for microteaching (McDonald, 1973). However, attempts, such as those of Holzman (1969), to conceptualize what actually goes on during self-confrontation are rare. Explosion without explanation seems to be the order of the day.

True, clinical reports about video playback are almost unanimously optimistic, even enthusiastic about its benefits (Alger & Hogan, 1969; Berger, 1969-1970; Carleton College, 1966; Hess, 1967; Hoops & Neil, 1970; Kalick, 1971; Lynch, 1969; Marshall & Hegrenes, 1970; Sanford, 1969; Stroh, 1969). Expressions of satisfaction come not only from investigators but from teacher educators (Chase et al., 1971; Doty & Cotrell, 1971) and from subjects themselves (Biberstine, 1972; Fuller, Peck, Bown, Menaker, White, & Veldman, 1969; Lawrence, 1971; McCollum & LaDue, 1970; Paulston, 1970; Roberts, 1972; Schueler & Gold, 1964). Even when no significant differences are found between playback and control groups, the use of playback may be recommended not only for the population which demonstrated no significant improvement but for other groups as well. For example, Schueler and Gold (1964) found no differences between kinescope feedback and no feedback groups, but still felt that "the medium that was employed with student teachers in this project is regarded as having even greater potential if used with teachers already on the job [p. 364]." In another study (Bloom, 1971), video playback produced no significant differences in work attitudes, absence, tardiness, or trainee evaluation records, but

> . . . the major implication for research is that a variety of videotape self-confrontation experiments is needed with representative samples having therapeutic goals and non-therapeutic goals in order to test the strengths and weaknesses of this procedure which has been hailed with much enthusiasm and fervor [p. 3016].

Self-confrontation seems to capture the imagination of investigators even in the face of contrary evidence. It has been credited with producing the very outcomes which have been predicted and disconfirmed. In one study, for example, high school students who heard their own tape recorded response to their parents' statements were expected to increase more than a control group in ability to focus on their own problems and other outcomes. None of these predictions was supported. Contrary to prediction, controls focused more on their own problems than feedbacks did. Still, Abbott (1965) reports

> . . . observations, not supported statistically, suggest that experimental group members confronted by their own behavior

did uncover self-concerns and were motivated to understand themselves more than the control group members were [p. 2045].

It is not surprising therefore to find improvement reported more often from clinical ratings (Paredes, Gottheil, Tausig, & Cornelison, 1969), self-ratings (Pederson, 1967), counselor ratings (Pepperman, 1967), and ratings of satisfaction with the treatment (Smith, Kerber, Olberg, & Protheroe, 1968) than from observations of behavior.

Such faith can hardly be undeserved. Nevertheless, the empirical literature furnishes little evidence that self-confrontation "helps," at least in the way that help is ordinarily defined by psychotherapists and counselors. For example, a recent review of the self-confrontation literature in psychotherapy (Bailey & Sowder, 1970) ends on a doleful note:

> Despite the appealing claims of psychotherapists who have used playback treatment methods, no cogent, rigorously designed studies have been done which show a clear-cut, measurable relationship between a form of self-confrontation and positive personality change. The typical approach has been to use self-confrontation in sundry ways over a nonspecified period of time and then to render a subjective opinion as to the therapeutic consequences. The underlying theoretical rationale is usually nebulous or not mentioned at all, and little attention is given to the myriad of confounding influences on client change such as the therapist variable and general mode of treatment; the form, nature, and intensity of the self-confrontation method; the reliability and validity of evaluative criteria; the role of organismic variables in the subjects used; the effects of the self-confrontation methods on therapists' behavior, and so forth [p. 133].

Not only is there little in the empirical literature to justify the widespread optimism, but some caution is voiced. As Holzman (1969) says in a thoughtful attempt at conceptualizing video playback in psychotherapy,

> No one has advised against using the technique, although there are occasional reports of transitory disturbances in patients following the use of one of these methods, and some authors have discussed contraindications for certain patients [p. 198].

There is even some evidence (to be reviewed below) suggesting that self-confrontation, like psychotherapy (Bergin, 1966), may make some people worse.

What is the answer to this conundrum? On the one hand are widespread use and enthusiastic support for self-confrontation. On the other hand are pessimistic research summaries and some reports of deleterious effects. It seems worthwhile to try to make sense out of this confusion, particularly to summarize what is now known about the conditions under which self-confrontation produces various outcomes

and to relate this summary to current practice in teacher education.

What are current practices? In some cases, microteaching procedures are used. The neophyte sees herself attempting to perform some specified teaching behavior with the opportunity to redo the teaching. In other cases, supervisors visit teachers' classrooms and use their observations, as well as video tapes taken in the classrooms, in their conferences with teachers. More often, although video equipment is available, teacher educator time is in short supply. Instructors may have little extra time for video playback conferences. A frequent practice therefore is to schedule students to see, alone or with a supervisor, the first technically good video tape the students have made, in the hope that they will remedy what they are doing wrong.

What are the chances that this hope will be realized?

Scope of This Review

Our purpose here is not to review all the literature which has any relationship to self-confrontation. Self-confrontation is after all a representation of reality to the person, and representing reality to mankind is not done only by video playback. An ancient endeavor of much of art and literature in fact is representing reality (Auerbach, 1957). We will discuss here a much more circumscribed question—whether teacher education video playback practices can be informed by the experimental and theoretical literature on confrontation, particularly that literature outside teacher education. One focus, therefore, will be empirical evidence bearing on a few questions which seem related to current practice in teacher education. What outcomes have been observed? What treatments are related to specified outcomes? What treatment components seem to be responsible for outcomes? For example, what subject and helper characteristics are related to outcomes?

To shed some light on these questions, this review will include outcomes, characteristics of situation and treatment, helper characteristics, and subject characteristics.

The review includes not only all the usual journals in education and psychology, but also dissertation abstracts from January 1960 through May 1973, ERIC Research in Education Document Resumés, and ERIC Current Index to Journals of Education. From these sources selections were made with certain emphases.

One emphasis was upon what might generally be called personal change due to self-confrontation as differentiated from the acquisition of particular behaviors such as asking questions. Several studies, most being dissertations, demonstrate that video playback can increase, from pre- to post-, the frequency of easily specifiable, recognizable behaviors under the conditions which exist in the usual undergraduate education program: prior selection for admission to the program, subject characteristics such as motivation, experimenter characteristics, and so on. Many such studies are not reviewed here individually unless the study is of interest for some other reason.

A second emphasis is upon empirical studies. Many reports about videotape playback are descriptive. Clinics, school districts, labs and centers, and schools and colleges of almost every type have described

their programs in ERIC and in such publications as *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, Agriculture Education Magazine, American Vocational Journal, Industrial Arts*, and so on. Often the purpose is to demonstrate that video playback is feasible, economical and/or acceptable to teachers. These articles will not be reviewed individually, although descriptions of such programs have informed our notions about current practices in the use of videotape playback with teachers.

Omitted, too, are "shotgun" studies. Typically some treatment, difficult to define in terms of established constructs (such as counseling), is related to some global outcome (such as ratings of overall improvement). Most of these report no significant differences, although one investigator still felt that behavioral changes took place (Eisemann, 1969).

Whenever it was possible to label the treatment and outcome variables of a study meaningfully, it was included; in fact, we took some liberties with construct names in order to classify them. However, studies were omitted when both the treatment and the outcome defied our efforts to specify them.

Some latitude was exercised in defining self-confrontation. In recent years, video and audio playback have been the most widely used kinds of self-confrontation, but other procedures have been used. Since we are interested here in self-confrontation rather than playback itself, vehicles for self-confrontation other than video playback have been included.

In summary, the purpose of the review is to cast some light on what goes on when self-confrontation procedures are used in teacher education. For this purpose, outcomes, subject characteristics, treatments, and helper characteristics will be reviewed and discussed in that order.

Outcomes

Stress Reactions

Film or video tape feedback can be a stressful, anxiety-arousing experience (Holzman, 1969; Logue, Zenner, & Gohman, 1968; Moore, Chernell, & West, 1965; Nielsen, 1964; Perlberg, Peri, Weinreb, Nitzan, Shimron, & O'Bryant, 1971; Steward & Steward, 1970). Danet (1968b) suggests that confronted subjects in group psychotherapy may be more anxious than a control group. Even audio feedback has been shown to cause disturbance (Holzman, 1969).

Viewing a video tape or film representation of the self involves intense focusing on the self. Such an experience is emotionally arousing (Geertsma & Reivich, 1965; Gonen, 1971; Kagan & Krathwohl, 1967; Nielsen, 1964; Stoller, 1968b).

Since stress and anxiety may arise in video playback, the playback may be thought of, in some circumstances, as a threatening message. Threatening messages have been shown to cause inhibiting effects (Berkowitz & Cottingham, 1960; Janis & Feshbach, 1953; Janis & Terwilliger, 1962; Staines, 1969; Truax, 1966). It is possible therefore that self-confrontation also may have inhibiting effects. In addition, McCarron (1969) found a high to low GSR amplitude hierarchy of confrontation, interpretation, interrogation, and reflection. This tells

nothing about video playback per se, but does suggest that when playback is a confronting experience, it evokes stress physiologically as well as psychologically.

Clinical reports often mention the stress associated with self-confrontation. Many imply that the confrontation was greeted with a less-than-enthusiastic reception by subjects. "Most self-observations were negatively evaluated by the viewers [Salomon & McDonald, 1970, p. 285]." "The beginning students may have been rather brutally surprised at their video image and the counselee's comments on it [Kagan & Krathwohl, 1967, p. 26]."

Some negative comments are low key, for example,

> The advantages of microteaching, as seen by the participating student teachers, outweigh many of the disadvantages present in conducting a microteaching program in a small liberal arts college [Davis, 1970, p. 4303].

Video playback is often found to be a demanding experience (Loubriel et al., 1963). Some authors, in fact, even feel it necessary to assure readers that subjects have not been too much bothered by the experience (Hudson, 1968). Recommendations are often made to future users about coping with subjects' stress reactions to playback or to other uses of the video tape. Perlberg and O'Bryant (1968), for example, suggest that the anxiety of faculty members can be alleviated by assuring them that no administrative use will be made of their video tapes.

Only one study reports that anxiety was decreased by video playback. When defined as the number of non-fluencies in speech (hesitancies, omissions, slips, etc.), anxiety decreased when feedback and apparently practice were provided (Breen & Diehl, 1970). A second study reports no change due to microteaching on any outcomes measured, including anxiety (Hughes, 1969).

In general, the consensus seems to be that self-confrontation without stress reducing adjuncts produces an initial reaction of distress described as disturbance, fear, anxiety (Holzman, 1969).

Focus on Body and Voice

In video and other visual playback, the person's physical self is forcibly brought to his attention. Unless some other focus, perhaps some powerful focus, is provided, self-viewers seem to focus on themselves. Nude marathon group members were difficult to dissuade from their focus on negative body characteristics (Lawrence, 1971). The reactions of hemophilic patients (children, adolescents, and adults) to audiovisual self-confrontation were self-love and narcissism, and self-derogation and criticism (Bahnson, 1969). Both hospitalized patients (Stoller, 1967) and teaching interns (Fuller & Baker, 1970; Salomon & McDonald, 1970) concentrate on what Salomon and McDonald call "physique cues."

Nearly all investigators who report on the actual process remark on this intense focus on self. Subjects react to voice characteristics, regional accent, a nasal quality, a drawl, whining, head shaking, handwaving. Often the reaction is global. "I look awful." "I look better than I thought I would" and so on. Focus on physical manifestations

clearly seems to be a part of the self-confrontation experience.

However, continued playback (3 sessions) preceded by training (48 hours) in analysis of teaching behavior, has been shown to increase focus on the teaching act (Bedics & Webb, 1971). Both single and triple playback groups without training focused on themselves. However, with increasing experience in video "self-analysis," triple playback groups also focused more on the teaching act.

Apparently first exposure to playback without preparation causes intense self-focus, but other interventions can modify this effect. Whether the interventions modify the self-focus, modify reports of self-focus, or utilize the self-focus to some other end is not clear.

Self-esteem

Typically self-esteem does not seem to increase as a consequence of self-confrontation, or if it does, the increase does not persist.

Four studies do find increases. In one study, preservice female elementary education undergraduates who had microteaching developed higher self-esteem and a more critical attitude toward teaching clichés (Goldman, 1969). Three studies found that self-esteem or self-regard was greater for video feedback group members (Smith, 1971; Murff, 1973), but in one case the increase was not sustained during follow-up (Loper, 1971).

Eight studies find no increase in positive self-concept (Barden, 1973; Blount & Pedersen, 1970; Dieker et al., 1968; Edwards, 1970; Elbert, 1970; Fadale, 1970; Roberts, 1972) or self-acceptance (Paredes et al., 1969), and two studies find decreases. Danet (1968b) reported that confronted subjects in group psychotherapy were less positive in their self-evaluations than a control group. Dieker (1968) found that, contrary to expectations, a student control group's self-ratings were closer to their ideal ratings than were those of a feedback group. It is difficult not to agree with Dieker's comment that self-confrontation may not be the way to enhance self-esteem. Although techniques such as microteaching's opportunity for practice may, when combined with self-confrontation, increase self-esteem, it seems unlikely that self-confrontation alone has that specific effect.

Realism about the Self

Perhaps confrontation does not increase self-esteem, but instead increases accuracy of self-perception (Braucht, 1970). It is possible that what many people fear from self-confrontation actually occurs: what they see is different from what they expected and worse than what they hoped for.

If this is true, we would expect the base rate for realism to be quite low and to err in the direction of overestimation. This seems to be the case. Werner Wolff (1943) investigated people's impressions and recognition of their own voices, gaits, profiles, hands, and handwriting. Using still and motion photography, he found that judgments of self-productions were predominantly more intense, generally more favorable than judgments about the same productions by others. He also noted resistance to recognizing one's own expressive products.

Women's self-assessments tend to be inaccurate in the direction of overassessment (DeBacy, 1969), and students' ratings of themselves are consistently higher than judges' ratings (Hirschfeld, 1968). It comes as no surprise to find that estimates by student teachers (mostly females) about their own behavior are very inaccurate (Johnston, 1969).

Can self-confrontation improve their accuracy? The bulk of the evidence seems to indicate that it can. A feedback group showed lower discrepancy between ratings received and ratings anticipated than did control subjects who received no feedback (Myers, Myers, Goldberg, & Welch, 1969). Psychiatric patients in a confrontation group increased in self-concept accuracy more than controls did (Braucht, 1970). Video viewing increased the accuracy of self-assessment of women golfers, and video playback combined with viewing a model performance reduced over-assessment (DeBacy, 1969). Counselors' self-evaluations became less positive and more in line with their supervisors' ratings (Walz & Johnston, 1963) though less similar to clients' views of them. Video playback had minimal therapeutic impact on depressives' pathology but seemed to help them achieve a more accurate perception of others' view of their depression (Seitz, 1969). Regressed schizophrenics made more realistic comments on their behavior after viewing (Stoller, 1967), and nude marathon members' self-perceptions changed toward objective reality (Lawrence, 1971).

Feedback from pupils, combined with conferences, improved the accuracy of teachers' self-appraisals (Lauroesch, Pereira, & Ryan, 1969). Immediate feedback from supervisors to student teachers on color-coded cards about ongoing desirable and undesirable behavior reduced discrepancies between teachers' beliefs about how they were acting and how they were observed to act more than post-teaching feedback conferences, but discrepancies were reduced after both kinds of feedback, (Heinrich & McKeegan, 1969) perhaps indicating adoption of the supervisors' value judgments. However, student teachers who had audio feedback plus instructor feedback were able to decrease the discrepancy between their self-ratings and the mean of the ratings of peers (Fuller, Veldman, & Richek, 1966) on successive teaching trials. Education students increased their sensitivity to their own gestures and mannerisms (Herring, 1969). There is even some evidence that more time spent in feedback activities increases realism about self, defined as self-insight (Smith & Kight, 1959).

Although video playback seems to increase realism about the self, it does not seem to increase realism about others, at least when such realism is defined as differences between a student's rating of another teacher and the rating by supervisors of that other teacher (Waimon & Ramseyer, 1970). In that case, however, the findings may have been due to differences between the two kinds of raters.

Clinically-oriented reports about teaching tell a similar story. Eight student teachers, identified beforehand as successful, appeared to have increased in realism although there was little discernible modification in their self-concepts (Kerber, 1967). Teachers' realism about the behavior of children who were not listening and about their own questioning behavior seemed to increase as a consequence of video feedback (Bloom, 1969).

In two studies, video feedback was not found to increase the

similarity between mental hospital patients' self-perceptions (Robinson & Jacobs, 1970) or prospective teachers' self-ratings (Murff, 1973) and mean ratings of them by others.

Nevertheless, it seems fair to conclude that self-confrontation does have potential for increasing teachers' realism about themselves. Whether confrontation increases realism about others or empathy toward others is unknown, but a study of the question is underway (Johnson, 1973).

Openness

Openness can mean either taking (receptivity to feedback from others) or giving (sharing, self-exploration, spilling one's guts).

Receptivity to feedback certainly seems to be a prerequisite to benefiting from feedback, but only one study of the effects of video playback on receptivity to feedback seems to have been reported. When openness was defined in terms of such teacher and pupil behaviors as more pupil talk and more teacher questions, teachers did become more open to feedback (Fuller, Menaker, Peck, & Bown, 1967). However, since other treatments were provided to these teachers, including counseling and special teaching placement, the increased receptivity to feedback cannot be ascribed to video playback alone.

Whether openness in the sense of self-sharing and self-exploration is increased by video playback is not clear. Video feedback did not help teachers recall personal, professional, or perceptual problems (Roberts, 1971), and therapeutic confrontation in the first psychotherapy session had little impact on client self-exploration during the three-minute period following confrontation (Mitchell & Namenek, 1972). Micro-teaching did increase openness as measured by the Teacher Problems Q sort (Barron, 1967), but did not reduce dogmatism measured by the Rokeach Scale (Hughes, 1969).

Whether openness is found to increase may depend on the definition used, i.e., upon whether openness is defined as receptivity or self-disclosure. Self-confrontation seems to increase receptivity. At least it increases realism and in order for realism to increase, it seems that the person must get the message, that is, be receptive to the feedback. However, confrontation does not seem to increase self-disclosure about personal problems although it may stimulate expressions of teaching problems.

In light of the stressful effects of confrontation, it is certainly not unexpected to find that confrontation increases receptivity to feedback because possible danger alerts the subject. But it does not increase self-disclosure, the increase of which is more likely to require safety rather than danger.

Activity

Self-confrontation seems to "dither" the system. Holzman (1969), reporting a psychophysiological experiment replicated by Olivos (1967), found

> . . . significantly greater rise in activation when the subject was listening to his own voice than when he was listening to another

> person's voice. Indeed this psychophysiological alerting occurred in some subjects even though they did not consciously recognize that they were listening to their own voices [Holzman, 1969, p. 204].

Gaviria (1967) found further that the alerting response to one's own voice continues for a longer time than it does to a stranger's voice, and Humphrey (1966), while studying effects of modeling on language functions in autistic children, found it advantageous to include slides of the children themselves.

Many investigators report that, although the feedback treatment may or may not have affected the outcomes being studied, the feedback, sometimes incidentally, aroused interest or motivation of subjects (Cooper, 1970; Geertsma & Reivich, 1965; Hedges, 1970; Hopkins, 1969, Kagan & Krathwohl, 1967; Nielsen, 1964; Schueler & Gold, 1964; Stoller, 1967; Walz & Johnston, 1963; Yenawine, 1969), and increased verbal productivity (Bailey, 1968; Kidorf, 1963), activity (Barnhart, 1971; Yenawine, 1969), experimentation with new behaviors (Kagan, 1970a), positive attitudes toward learning (Bradley, 1970), and interpersonal skills (Archer, 1972). Much of this activity is probably covert since skin resistance changes, measured by GSR, show responses to video tape playback not reflected in student teachers' verbal reports (Carus, 1969). Responses have been enhanced of even severely regressed schizophrenics who rarely uttered a word and who had exhausted other therapeutic efforts (Stoller, 1967).

Three explanations have been offered for this phenomenon. First is television's power to involve the viewer in the process (McLuhan, 1964). The relatively low definition (low intensity) of television forces the viewer to project upon the image a completion which is not actually present, and as a result he creates a higher level of personal involvement with this medium, a kind of Zeigarnik effect.

Second, attribution theory posits that the motivational increase occurs because video playback increases belief in personal causality (Ronchi & Ripple, 1972). Before playback, an individual sees himself as responding to situations. In regard to his own behavior, he is a social behaviorist, as Ronchi puts it. However, he sees others as having consistent personality characteristics which produce their behavior. In regard to others, he is a trait theorist. During playback he sees himself as he sees others and becomes a trait theorist about himself; that is, he attributes his behavior at least in part to his own traits. One explanation is that the actor, when behaving, visually focuses on the environment since he cannot see himself, whereas the observer can see the actor and thus focuses on him (Storms, 1971). The proposition that increased belief in personal causality arouses the person to action is being investigated (Taube, 1973).

Third is the possibility that the person seeing himself has a transference reaction to himself. Perhaps the transference does not develop slowly but happens all at once. There is no such thing as a new relationship (Tagiuri, 1958). "It is as if the Freudian concept of transference. . .is brought into play instantly [Kagan & Krathwohl, 1967, p. 59]." The energy which accompanies transference reactions to another person may be precipitated as well when the object viewed is one's own self.

In any case, arousal certainly seems to accompany self-confrontation. This increase in interest may account for the enthusiasm and optimism so often reported by practitioners.

Performance

Improvements. A large and rapidly expanding literature (McAleese & Unwin, 1973) generally testifies that specifiable behaviors which are under the subject's voluntary control can be changed by microteaching (Allen, 1967; Allen & Ryan, 1969; Cotrell & Doty, 1971b; Perlberg, Peri et al., 1971) and that microteaching produced higher teaching effectiveness ratings than an observation-aide program (Allen & Fortune, 1966). It should be noted, however, that microteaching does not necessarily include video playback (McKnight, 1971), and that microteaching without video has been found to be as effective as with video although satisfaction is greater with video (Cotrell & Doty, 1971d; Hoerner et al., 1971; Pancrazio & Johnson, 1971).

The better specified the goal, the more likely the change (McDonald & Allen, 1967; McKnight, 1971; Salomon & McDonald, 1970). In fact, discrimination training without video playback is superior to microteaching (Wagner, 1973). Under certain conditions microteaching can even have an homogenizing effect by reducing individual differences in style (Gall et al., 1969), can increase the resemblance between evaluations of master teachers and students (Legge & Asper, 1972), or can change teaching styles from verbal teacher centered to nonverbal pupil centered (Perlberg, Bar-Yam, Levey, Bar-On, Levin, Pinkas, Etrog, Noam, Inbar, & Starobinetz, 1972).

Focused feedback increased indirect influence (Dillon & Peterson, 1971; Kiser, 1970; Leonard, Gies, & Paden, 1971; Maples, 1971). Self-administered audio feedback during trial teaching increased pupil-initiated ideas and diversified instructional tactics (Davis & Smoot, 1969), and video plus verbal feedback produced more changes in behavior than verbal feedback alone (Olivero, 1966).

Microteaching worked just as well in the economical on-campus situation as it did off-campus (Kallenbach, 1967), but the use of pupils increased the effects of a model (Young, 1968) and of microteaching (Young et al., 1971). Improvements were found in counseling and psychotherapy (Kagan & Krathwohl, 1967; Kaswan & Love, 1969; Robinson, 1968) and teacher supervisors (Douglass & Pfeiffer, 1971; Pfeiffer & Reighard, 1971). Microcounseling (video playback and modeling) was found to increase the frequency, but not the accuracy, of counselor focus on client feeling (Frankel, 1972). These findings may lead one to expect that presenting material in the subject's own voice, rather than in another person's voice, would increase speed of learning. However, such effect was not observed (Gaviria, 1966).

A few studies do not find significant changes due to microteaching or similar procedures (Bern, 1967; Friebel & Kallenbach, 1969; Roush, 1969), especially when other attention-getting treatments are also used and outcomes are global (Weiss, 1972). Cognitive discrimination training increased student-centered teaching behavior more than microteaching, whereas microteaching and control groups did not differ (Wagner, 1973).

The studies which do find changes in the desired directions seem to include components in addition to video playback, particularly goal setting or focus. The characteristics and contributions of these components, of treatments, situations, subjects, and helpers will be discussed in later sections.

Video playback, which may have such components, apparently can change even complex behaviors. For example, self-confrontation was superior to verbal coaching in teaching subtle interaction skills to males in the military service (Haines & Eachus, 1965), and microteaching produced significantly higher pupil evaluation in actual classrooms (Limbacher, 1968). Both schizophrenic and depressive reaction patients with playback in a psychiatric setting were considered significantly more improved than nonviewing groups (Moore, 1969), and subjects with videotape focused feedback plus encounter group experience were viewed as more effective than those with the group experience alone (Weiss, 1972).

Changes may or may not persist over time. An early learning advantage gained by tennis players after viewing their films during the middle stage of instruction was not maintained as they continued to play (Lloyd, 1968). A 12-month follow-up of video playback treated alcoholics showed no differences in social functioning or drinking behavior compared to a control group (Schaefer, Sobell, & Sobell, 1972). Competence ratings by teaching supervisors on the Stanford Teaching Competence Appraisal Guide at the end of two and a half months of microteaching were unrelated to analogous competence ratings based on three, six, and nine months experience in the actual classroom for intern teachers (Parsons, 1970).

On the other hand, changes in teaching behavior after microteaching have, under certain circumstances, been found to persist. Borg (1972), using a pre-post design without a control group, found that improvements in precisely specified behaviors produced by a minicourse utilizing microteaching were still observed three years later. His "elaborate process" included

> . . . giving the teacher a precise operational definition and examples of each skill, developing with the teacher a detailed lesson plan that provides points at which each skill is to be used, and conducting several rehearsals in which the teacher sees a videotape replay and gets prompt feedback on his performance [p. 578].

This has, in common with some other studies reporting persisting gains, the setting of specific goals, behaviors which are probably partially already in the person's repertoire and under his conscious control, opportunities for practice as well as self-confrontation, and predisposing subject characteristics.

Decrements. Under certain conditions, performance is sometimes shown to become worse after self-confrontation. Aggressive girls became significantly more negative to their teacher after video playback (Aikire, 1969). Often behavior is disrupted. Danet (1968a) says,

> A variety of data supported the contention that introduction of videotape playback in the rigid, structured manner employed for experimental purposes served to disrupt the

group's functioning. Further, the evidence suggested that the disruption was greater when playback was introduced early in a group's history as opposed to after it had established itself as a cohesive unit [p. 3058].

Time may be needed to absorb the impact of playback (Johnson, Games, Andersch, & Penson, 1963; Ward, 1966). Beginning counselors

> . . . seeing themselves for the first time seemed shocked and even somewhat depressed . . . counselors did not have enough time to integrate the insights gained. Three exposures within eight weeks did not give the counselor a chance to grow [Ward, 1966, p. 972].

On the other hand, the first viewing of self may have the most impact (Holzman, 1969) and offer the most opportunity for change, an opportunity soon lost.

Feedback from students to teachers (Lauroesch et al., 1969), or from students and peers to teachers (Johnson et al., 1963), can be disrupting. The hypothesis that feedback from students would improve teacher performance was not only not substantiated, but "we observed exactly the opposite effect. The data are clear: feedback was effective in lowering students' ratings of their teachers [Lauroesch et al., 1969, p. 30]." The authors reject the possibility that this decline was due to increased student criticalness or more frankness. They conclude: "A more plausible kind of explanation of the results is that feedback did, in fact, change the teachers' behavior [p. 30]."

Feedback from others involved in the performance, such as students and peers, seems particularly disrupting, at least at first (Johnson et al., 1963). Perhaps too much feedback can be made public too soon. When the program analyzer (a device for feeding summed observer ratings to instructors) was paired with either sound film playback or audio playback and compared with audio only, sound film only, and a control condition, the feedback did not improve teaching. Teachers exposed to the program analyzer lost significantly in teaching effectiveness from first to second trial, but recovered somewhat between second and fourth trials. More trials and more specificity in feedback were recommended. The author draws a refreshingly frank conclusion from his study: "the present investigation failed to establish any measurable value for the devices employed [p. 376]." It should be remembered, however, that this disturbing feedback was not representative of behavior alone but included personal evaluation. One study does report that pupil feedback combined with self-viewing was superior, but the treatment was confounded with program (Acheson, 1964).

Group cooperation and mutual sharing behavior decreased following videotape replay (Martin, 1971) when cooperative climate was defined as decreased group variance in verbal output, i.e., the monopolizers talked less and silent ones talked more. Of three experimental groups, one got worse, one did not change, and one showed some tendency to get better. These findings are reminiscent of Danet (1968a) and Searle (1969) who suggest that videotape feedback may have a disruptive and negative effect upon groups.

Of course, stress reactions and disrupted behavior might be first steps toward change if the feedback is discrepant, whether

incongruent-discrepant (different from what the subject experienced it to be) or deficient-discrepant (different from what the subject intended it to be).

> Discrepant feedback is relatively disturbing to the individual and, in fact, often results in a disruption of behavior in that the individual becomes highly conscious of what he is doing and is consequently unable to perform as smoothly as he has. However, this is often a necessary step in his stopping customary behavior prior to the development of new behavior [Stoller, 1968b, p. 39].

Deautomatization. A fascinating line of reasoning is offered by Holzman, Berger, and Rousey (1967). They found that, when native Spanish speakers who were bilingual in English as a second language listened to recordings of their own voices speaking in Spanish, they responded with much greater affect, more speech disturbances, and more defensiveness than to recordings of their voices speaking English. Their responses to the latter were bland and rather intellectualized.

One of the authors' explanations for their findings is helpful in explaining both the difficulty of changing behavior qualitatively and the failure of certain changes to persist over time. What the person may be reacting to in self-confrontation, they say, is the paralanguage of the communication. Involuntary expressions of purposes and attitudes are mediated by those voice qualities which are learned early in life. When, later in life, one learns a second language, one learns the vocabulary, grammar, and syntax, but the paralanguage may be highly derivative and imitative.

The authors utilize the concept of deautomatization introduced by Gill and Brenman (1959), who consider most reactions to be spontaneous or automatic. Certainly paralanguage is largely automatic. Teaching behavior, too, may be unplanned, spontaneous, automatic (Jackson, 1968).

Gill and Brenman's (1959) concept of deautomatization assumes that a disorientation of the system can be followed by improvement or decrement in organization of behavior. Deautomatization involves redirecting one's attention onto those processes for which attention was no longer necessary once the behavior became "automatized." The result of such redirecting of attention is at least temporary disruption of the function. However, this can be followed by improvement. As Holzman (1969) says:

> Deautomatization provides an opportunity for advancing, retreating from, or maintaining the status quo of a function. The deautomatization produced by the self-confrontation experience thus is one such opportunity. It momentarily deautomatizes one's view of one's self and hence stimulates recall, broadens associational realms about one's self and also provokes a defensive stance. It is not surprising, therefore, that many people are astonished, shocked and even frightened by the self-confrontation experience [p. 207-208].

Perhaps changes in entrenched spontaneous behaviors do not persist over time unless deautomatization takes place. If the in-

voluntary, largely unconscious, expressions of purposes and attitudes conveyed through paralanguage are not disrupted, they probably continue unchanged. Only voluntary specifiable behavior is changed. Minicourses that produce persistent changes do seem to involve such well-specified voluntary behaviors (Borg, 1972).

In the rough and tumble of the complex classroom, most responsive interpersonal teaching behavior is probably automatic. Perhaps in the actual classroom, new, consciously performed behaviors disappear. Perhaps the teacher forgets her new second language and once more starts to speak her native tongue.

If this is so, then the persistence of behavior change may depend on the differential attention given to its automatic and nonautomatic components. If almost all of the behavior is specifiable and non-automatic, we would expect change. However, if the behavior is automatic, it may change only after disruption. When changes do not seem to persist, it may be because the behavior was under some voluntary control in the posttest situation (such as microteaching) but was more automatic, more spontaneous in the follow-up situation (such as the actual classroom).

Subject Characteristics

Some kinds of teachers may benefit from self-confrontation, but others may not benefit or may even be harmed by it.

One hint of such differential effects comes from persistent statements in both formal and informal reports about varied individual reactions to confrontation. Usually these are briefly mentioned in the discussion section or inserted to explain nonsignificant findings. But the words "idiosyncratic" and "individualistic" are often used to describe subjects' responses to confrontation (Bahnson, 1969; Schueler & Gold, 1964; Walz & Johnston, 1963). For example, in one of the earliest studies to mention the differential responses of individual teachers to viewing their own kinescopes, Schueler and Gold (1964) observe that "the behavior of the student teachers was extremely idiosyncratic [p. 363]." Change patterns of counselors after self-viewing were "highly individualistic" (Walz & Johnston, 1963).

Groups, too, have been observed to have distinct, but unidentified, characteristics which seem to interact with confrontation. Of three confronted T groups (Martin, 1971), one group tended to become more democratic in its climate, one did not change, and one became less democratic. Martin concludes: "it is improbable that any two T groups would react in the same manner to videotape feedback [p. 345]."

Attempts to relate personality characteristics to benefits from treatment in a microteaching setting have not been fruitful (Austad & Emmer, 1970), and findings about specific subject characteristics which might interact with confrontation are scattered. Consequently, some liberty will be taken here with the labels used by investigators. Nevertheless, there seem to be discernible groupings of subject variables mentioned: attitudes about self, anxiety, body image, dogmatism, and capacity to change.

Attitudes about Self

Presumably, self-confrontation identifies for the viewer some previously suspected discrepancy between actual and desired performance. Perhaps this experience activates the system and initiates change. However, a low self-concept may reduce the probability of experiencing dissonance between present behavior and future valued goals. For example, subjects who were successful in attaining self-directed behavior change goals were more likely than unsuccessful subjects to indicate a desire for a goal with recognition that the goal had not been achieved, i.e., to be aware of a dissonance between actual and desired performance. Unsuccessful subjects were characterized by confusion or tentativeness about the present self (Winter, Griffith, & Kolb, 1968). This is consistent with dissonance theory (Brehm & Cohen, 1962) and with Erikson's work on identity diffusion (1959). Consequently, individuals with low self-esteem might be expected to discern the discrepancy less well and profit less than those with higher self-esteem. There is also the possibility that stressful confrontation can depress low self-esteem even further in individuals who do not expect that they can change. Specifically, we would expect that teachers with low self-esteem would benefit less and be less satisfied after self-confrontation than would teachers with high self-esteem.

This line of reasoning is supported by an interesting study by Salomon and McDonald (1970). In that study, no viewing instructions or model of desirable behavior were given to teachers. After the teaching but before the viewing, interns were interviewed and expressed their degree of satisfaction about the teaching performance they had not yet seen. Presumably this reflected their satisfaction with themselves. After video-viewing, interns who had expressed high satisfaction with themselves before viewing increased significantly in their ratings of themselves as professionals. Low satisfaction interns did not. Moreover, low satisfaction interns were the major contributors to downward change in ratings of teacher education.

Counselors who were below the mean on either acceptance of self or acceptance of others used more negative items to describe themselves after TV viewing than those who were above the mean (Walz & Johnston, 1963).

Possibly, attitudes about the self interact with the outcome of self-confrontation because self-esteem is related to anticipatory attitudes about how others will view one. When a person views himself, he becomes that other viewer. When he is the other viewer, he views himself with this anticipatory attitude (Kagan & Krathwohl, 1967). In fact, his view may be the quintessence of his expectations and hence amplify his self-fulfilling prophecy. If so, it will not be the first time that it has been observed that, psychologically at least, the rich get richer and the poor poorer (Garfield, 1971).

Anxiety

Self-confrontation is a stressful experience. An objective representation of the self can be even more stressful if the person is already

anxious (Harvey, Hunt, & Schroder, 1961; May, 1950; Schumacher, Wright, & Wiesen, 1968).

Three kinds of predictions could be made about the effects of anxiety. On the one hand, this amplified stress might be disorganizing and lead to decrements in behavior. Studies already cited of feedback from pupils (Johnson et al., 1963; Lauroesch et al., 1969) suggest that this is the case.

On the other hand, highly anxious persons might *appear* to become more realistic about themselves after self-viewing if realism is defined as increased agreement between self-ratings and other ratings. Some findings (Walz & Johnston, 1963), which the authors emphasize are exploratory, support this second prediction. After video-viewing, highly anxious counselors were found to move more toward agreement with clients and supervisors on an adjective interview check list than did other groups.

Holzman (1969) suggests a third possibility: that "patients will respond to [self-viewing] differently and probably in accordance with their style of defense against threat [p. 203]." In general, it seems probable that anxiety interacts with self-viewing in some way. Perhaps some anxiety is helpful, but too much is disorganizing. In any case, it is extremely difficult to persuade anxious people to look at their video performances. For example, eight successive pairs of fathers and delinquent sons effectively avoided playback (J. S. Bentley, personal communication, 1973).

Body Image and Physical Appearance

The literature suggests body image and physical attractiveness probably influence the video playback experience.

First, the subject's physical appearance is forcibly brought to his attention when he confronts himself in video playback. Second, body image, self-concept, and self-acceptance are intercorrelated (Bindrim, 1969; Boyd & Sisney, 1967; Rogers, 1951). Attitudes toward the self are probably related to the reception which self-confrontation receives from the viewer, as shown above; therefore, it seems likely that body image too will influence the effects of self-confrontation.

Some observations support the notion that an appearance different from, or more negatively regarded than, the standard in the surrounding community has negative effects. Disadvantaged youths on a college campus did not benefit from self-viewing and might even have been damaged (Hawkins & Engbretson, 1967). Although the authors do not suggest that this was related to an appearance different from other students, that is one possibility.

One author of this review has used video playback in counseling with both young and middle-aged female teachers. The contrast in their reactions to themselves was striking. Both groups of teachers reacted to their voices in about the same way, as if they had not heard them before, but older teachers almost uniformly reacted negatively to their physical appearance. We also observed what Salomon and McDonald (1970) report, that teachers who were dissatisfied with their performance before they ever saw their video tapes noticed mainly physique cues on the screen. Video playback to retired persons was totally

without impact, a reaction unprecedented in the author's experience (Lawrence, 1971). Perhaps people who consider themselves physically unattractive are distracted or distressed by their physical appearance on the screen.

On the other hand, video tape self-confrontation produced positive change on body image variables of poor, premorbid, non-paranoid schizophrenic subjects (Mermelstein, 1968). This study, however, involved individuals for whom increased realism about appearance might be enhancing, whereas increased realism about appearance for older persons and the handicapped might well be belittling. Self-confrontation may improve the unrealistically poor body image of the schizophrenic but depress the unrealistically good body image of the old and middle-aged. Perhaps, then, it is not body image or physical appearance which interacts with self-confrontation, but whether increased realism about one's appearance is good news or bad.

Capacity to Change

If the person is not too stressed, or closed, or anxious or distracted, the self-confrontation experience "takes," i.e., the person notices some discrepancy. This is either a difference between what he thought he was doing and what he was actually doing (an incongruence discrepancy), or a difference between what he was doing and what he wanted to do (a deficiency discrepancy). Whether he reduces either of these discrepancies probably depends in part on his capacity to change.

If this is so, we would expect that individuals with greater aptitude, intelligence, skill, and positive attitudes toward the task would profit more from self-confrontation than others. This hypothesis has not been tested directly. However, there is some indirect support for it and little to disconfirm it.

In one study, individual differences in behavior change among subjects experiencing videotape self-confrontation and self-evaluation were hypothesized to be related to academic achievement and aptitude and to total course work. Multiple correlations between intellectual variables and behavior change supported the hypothesized relationships. Changes toward use of less positive reinforcement were inversely related to intelligence, and more intelligent trainees decreased their use of less positive reinforcement (Stech, 1969). U. S. Air Force military advisers who had positive attitudes toward the culture, learned cross-cultural communication skills faster when a micro-teaching type treatment was used (Eachus & King, 1965). The Salomon and McDonald (1970) study cited earlier found that teachers who had positive attitudes toward their performance before viewing increased signficiantly in their ratings of themselves as professionals after viewing, whereas interns who were less satisfied with their performance did not increase. If these teachers were realistic about their performance, these findings mean that better performers increased their self-ratings but poorer performers did not. Again, the rich got richer and the poor poorer.

Less competent people seem to benefit from combined treatments. In one study, the least skilled group of swimmers needed both video playback and verbal feedback to improve their skills. The moderately skilled group did better with verbal feedback whether or

not they had video playback. With the most skilled group, the treatment did not matter (Taylor, 1971). When students learning French were given either audio feedback alone or audio feedback plus written confirmation via an impregnated pen which the student used after his oral response, the low aptitude students especially benefited from hearing and seeing the confirmation answer (Mueller, 1968).

In view of the influence of expectancy upon performance, it would not be surprising to find that those who are able to change expect to change and hence are more likely to change.

Another possibility is that the more complex the change to be made, the more precisely specified the goal needs to be. (It may not be necessary to specify the means to the goal, as research on biofeedback so dramatically shows.) Some people, perhaps the brighter ones, may be able to provide this specification for themselves from verbal instructions, whereas other people need the specification that modeling, discrimination training, and playback provide. As is true of reinforcement (Murray & Jacobson, 1971), an important component of playback may be its power to specify precisely how well what is wanted coincides with what is done. If so, the biofeedback paradigm has possibilities for some interesting research with video playback.

Dogmatism

The stress inherent in self-confrontation may be affected by dogmatism and possibly by related constructs such as closemindedness and authoritarianism (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Rokeach, 1960). The earliest formulations by Rokeach linked anxiety with one's personal belief system in a cognitive net of defense mechanisms, a network resistant to change (Rokeach, 1960). Some investigations have confirmed the basic formulations of Rokeach (e.g., Druckman, 1967; Erlich, 1961a, 1961b) but suggested qualification of the original theory (Erlich & Lee, 1969). Dogmatism may be related to the capacity of the person to perceive and receive the feedback being presented. For example, Kaplan and Singer (1963) conclude that "openness to sense impressions apparently runs parallel to openness to ideas, willingness to examine them critically, and careful analysis of thought [p. 490]." These characteristics seem necessary preconditions to benefiting from self-confrontation.

Other studies indicate that highly dogmatic subjects are more threatened by and tend more to avoid exposure to belief-discrepant information than low dogmatics (Vacchiano, Strauss, & Hockman, 1969). High dogmatics will perceive a personality testing situation as more threatening (Tosi, Fagan, & Frumkin, 1968a, 1968b). Dogmatism/authoritarianism is negatively correlated with self-disclosure (Halverson & Shore, 1969) and with the ability to separate one's self-concept and one's ideal self (Baker, 1970). The latter review suggests that "such inability to articulate and define differences between present behavior and future goals reduces the probability of experiencing dissonance between those two elements [p. 49]," an important aspect, presumably, of self-confrontation.

Summary of Subject Characteristics

Our best guess is that the teacher most likely to benefit from self-confrontation is in good shape before the confrontation. She is young and intelligent. She has a fairly good opinion of herself and is relatively well-satisified with her performance. She is open to change and has the capacity for it.

This description is reminiscent of research summaries on client variables. Clients who are most likely to benefit from psychotherapy are not sick and disabled. The most promising client is the YAVIS: young, attractive (and perhaps anxious, or at least in some pain), verbal, intelligent, and successful. If the YAVIS is a female, so much the better. The client least likely to benefit is the HOUND: homely, old, unattractive, nonverbal, and dumb (Garfield, 1971). Convergences in the research are so clear that it has been suggested that

> . . . the major defacto function of our therapeutic activity system *is as a kind of higher education in the development of interpersonal skills and emotional capacities* . . . . It parallels the function of collegiate education, in which the occupational skills and instrumental capacities are developed [Howard & Orlinsky, 1972, p. 658].

A more suitable population for self-confrontation could hardly be selected than prospective teachers: largely young, pretty, intelligent females who need to learn interpersonal skills. Perhaps teacher educators express enthusiasm about video playback for prospective teachers because, fortuitously, the YAVIS population and the treatment are so well suited to one another. On the other hand, HOUNDS may not fare so well. It seems likely that, when self-confrontation is damaging, the HOUNDS are its victims.

Treatment

Feedback

Although video playback has recently become a popular procedure in counselor and teacher education, a number of other modes of feedback have been devised (Bailey & Sowder, 1970). These can be classified into four types: mirror feedback, focused feedback, impact feedback, and opinion giving.

Mirror feedback. This type of feedback presents to the person some direct representation of his behavior with minimal distortion, selection, translation, or evaluation. Audio and video tape recordings, as well as mirrors, give this type of feedback primarily. In photographic self-image feedback (Cornelison & Arsenian, 1960; Miller, 1962; Ward & Bendlak, 1964) the subject sees his photographs. Readback involves reading back to a therapist what one has written or said at some earlier time (Farber, 1953; Golner, Geddes, & Arsenian, 1959; Pinney, 1955).

The vehicle for such feedback is some instrumentation rather

than another person, and consequently it is usually considered less subject to bias than person-mediated feedback. However, such feedback can still be influenced by some person. What is mirrored is selected by someone, for example a cameraman. So video feedback, which appears to be mirror feedback, has some of the characteristics of focused feedback. Audio feedback comes a little closer to being a true mirror.

Focused feedback. This method involves both a presentation of behavior and some focus (Stoller, 1968a). In microteaching, for example, the focus is instructions. The teacher is attempting some particular kind of behavior, and the playback, which includes much else, focuses on that particular behavior. Stimulated recall involves recalling, with the aid of an interrogator, thoughts and feelings that occurred during the performance which has been filmed and viewed (Bloom, 1954; Kagan & Krathwohl, 1967). Self-confrontation counseling combines counselor feedback from teachers' psychological tests with playback of their video tapes (Fuller & Baker, 1970; Fuller, Bown, Newlove, & Brown, 1973).

Impact feedback. Information is given to the actor about the consequences of his behavior. Of course, this happens all the time: the impact feedback from touching a hot stove is pain. In counseling groups, members are often enjoined to report only the impact another person has on them, and are cautioned against giving opinions or drawing conclusions about the actor's motives. For example, the impact feedback may be "Your remark embarrassed me" (report of own experience), but it may not be "I think you tried to embarrass me" (conclusion about another's motives).

The program analyzer mentioned earlier is an example of impact feedback in the classroom. Students furnished visual feedback to the teacher about their learning. At the teacher's signal, students raised one of three 2″ × 3″ cards, white, yellow, or black, to indicate their responses to three-option multiple choice questions. The consequences of her teaching (their learning) are fed back to her.

Modeling procedures often focus on consequences so that an individual sees another person performing the same act he performs, receiving the consequences of his behavior. In cross-confrontation a subject sees another person in a situation similar to his own, as when one teacher sees another responding to a hostile child's behavior.

The only study contrasting impact feedback and self-confrontation feedback suggests that focused impact feedback has promise far exceeding the attention it has received (McCroskey & Lashbrook, 1970). Greatest benefits to speech students were found from video playback of student communicative acts which focused on the audience rather than on the student and which was accompanied by instructor and student discussion.

Opinion giving. Strictly speaking, opinion giving is not feedback, although it is often called feedback if it includes some objective representation or recall of the subject's behavior. The representation of the behavior is typically used to illustrate, suggest, or support the opinion or evaluation.

One example is rehash (Stone, 1963) in which one's behavior on a previous occasion is discussed by staff. In psychotherapy, confrontation is frequently defined as the therapist's statements (or interpretations)

to the patient pointing out discrepancies between the therapist's and the patient's view of his behavior. Such therapist interpretation and pupil feedback include both opinion giving and impact feedback.

Apparently there is a continuum from relatively straightforward unmediated feedback (such as a mirror or an audio recorder provides) at the unmediated end, to focused feedback (such as microteaching which is somewhere between), to outright evaluation (such as opinion giving at the other end). As we shall see in a section to follow, a good deal of research has been done comparing what we are calling mirror feedback with focused feedback.

Audio vs. video feedback. Videotaping is found to be initially more threatening than audiotaping (Poling, 1968; Yenawine & Arbuckle, 1971) but superior in some studies in producing changes. A video group became more realistic both positively and negatively than an audio group (Nelson, 1968). Video playback utilized as part of a supervisory conference, changed direct influence to indirect influence, whereas audio feedback did not produce any more changes than supervisor conference alone (Kiser, 1970). Video playback was superior to audio in teaching speech skills (Mulac, 1969) and worked better for salesmen in reducing the number of interruptions and increasing sharing of the conversation (Stroh, 1968). In the same study, however, audio tape playback was more effective in four other areas: active listening, nonverbal perception, use of questions, and use of supportive statements. The reason cited was that audio allowed for better concentration. However, no differences in satisfaction were found among student teachers with audio video and face to face supervision (Kelly et al., 1971).

Psychiatric patients were found to respond better to audio than to video playback (Geertsma & Reivich, 1969), but other studies have found no differences on several measures: speech skill improvement (Cortes, 1969); counselor performance (Markey, Fredrickson, Johnson, & Julius, 1970); use of open-ended questions and tutoring skills (Gall et al., 1971); and ratings of teachers (Johnson et al., 1963; Tintera, 1960). Three microteaching feedback procedures—verbal, written + video; verbal, written + audio; and verbal + written feedback only—did not produce different effects in teaching stimulus variation to secondary education majors (Klingstedt, 1970).

Audio feedback seems to have an advantage when the objective requires a listener or viewer to identify with *another* person. Yenawine and Arbuckle (1971) comment that videotape seems to be so vivid, so specific, with so many cues, that it is difficult for the viewer to become involved in the videotaped performance of another person. For example, they found that counseling practicum students were able to involve themselves more and identify more with audiotaped role playing sessions of others. Perhaps the videotaped person is too much the viewer himself for the viewer to identify with him.

Apparently, listening to one's voice is like being given a little shake, but self-viewing is like a teethrattling blow. Subjects seem better able to sort out and select from audio tape. When the behavior of interest is mostly contained in the verbal interaction (as it is in counseling), audio playback may be as useful, and perhaps more useful,

than video playback. However, when behaviors of interest are only partially represented by sound (such as teacher interactions with small children), the visual cues provided by video playback are essential. In addition, video may activate the person more than audio. For example, when young teachers are uninvolved in learning to teach, video playback seems to involve them (Newlove & Fuller, 1971).

Perhaps audio and video have different uses. Video is arousing, self-involving, and should be used for individual but not group playback. Watching one's self remains interesting. Watching others becomes boring.

In teacher education, video and audio might be combined. Once the neophyte has taught, even briefly, in the actual classroom and seen her own video tape, her system is aroused, ready for learning. Perhaps at that point, audio tape could be used for long-term practice towards improvement in the simulated situation. She may then be able to "visualize" from the audio what she looks like. Such a procedure is consistent with comments that continued playback is necessary (Johnson et al., 1963; Lauroesch et al., 1969) but that continued video playback has a diminishing effect (Stoller, 1968b). Audio tape for long-term practice has the additional advantage of being relatively economical and simple to operate and maintain.

Playback

Delay time. One view is that playback should take place soon after the behavior (Benne, Bradford, & Lippitt, 1964). When playback is delayed, increased detachment by the subject has been observed (Nielsen, 1964), and there is a tendency to perceive the videotaped image as an "older" self, a self that once was but no longer is. The delayed replay seems less effective in stimulating insight and detailed memory (Kagan & Krathwohl, 1967), and its potency is reduced in other ways (Smith, McCrary, & Smith, 1960). Two studies, however, found no differences between immediate and delayed video playback (Bauman, 1972; Valine, 1970).

Playback Situation

If too much stress can militate against benefit from feedback and if confrontation is itself stressful, then the situation should be one in which the person receiving the feedback feels secure.

Most desirable is a situation of "psychological safety," a not-for-keeps situation, which is still close enough to the *in vivo* situation to make for personal learning. This is similar to the "unfreezing" phase of the change process described by Schein (1965), the psychological safety situation described by Miles (1959), and similar to low-risk situations such as scrimmage in football, brainstorming, and client-centered therapy (Baker, 1970).

Focus

Change is said to require not only the presence of facilitative conditions such as acceptance and empathy, but also "confrontation," i.e., identification of a discrepancy between the person's view of reality

and that of some observer (Anderson, 1968; Collingwood & Renz, 1969; Staines, 1969). One possibility is that the teacher will not benefit from seeing her video tape alone since there is no confrontation, but will change only when focus is provided by a supervisor, a peer, or some instructions. The other possibility is that solitary playback is most beneficial on the assumption that it is a lower threat situation.

The literature almost unanimously supports the first view that confrontation, or at least some focus, is necessary. Feedback that is not accompanied by some focus has been found to change behavior little, if at all (Bush & Allen, 1967; Geertsma & Reivich, 1965; Karasar, 1970; Morse, Kysilka, & Davis, 1970; Pease, 1972; Staines, 1969; Stoller, 1968a; Young, 1968). Prospective teachers whose audio feedback was supplemented by focus from an instructor became more realistic, whereas those who only heard their tapes did not (Fuller *et al.*, 1966). Self-confrontation combined with self-coding and behavior-coding affected verbal teaching behavior, but self-confrontation alone did not (Birch, 1969). Video taping alone was no more effective than written feedback in bringing about change, but student teachers who also received focus in the form of training in systematic observation increased their use of learner-oriented behavior significantly more (Kautz, 1970). Interaction analysis training, a type of strong focus, clearly contributed to changes in focused-upon behaviors (Bondi, 1969) as did a model (Eder, 1971). Goal-setting combined with video self-evaluation effected change in teaching methods and attitudes (Jensen, 1968). Video playback plus teacher critique improved road-test performance scores more than video playback only (Pease, 1972), and teachers using a self-appraisal instrument changed in their methods, the focus of the instrument (Brantley, 1972).

Kagan (1970b) initially reasoned that a counselor's viewing of his own video tape could supplement or even replace traditional supervision, but reports that it did not:

> Although other researchers have reported significant client or counselor growth without using the recall worker role, my colleagues and I are convinced that the second counselor serves an important function in fostering objectivity and more honest labeling of the dynamics of the subjective experience on videotape [p. 200].

Even feedback from pupils by itself does not change behavior, although subjective reactions to the feedback are favorable.

When each pupil's desk was equipped with "answer lights" to indicate to teachers their pupils' mastery of lessons, pupils, student teachers, and supervising teachers in the experimental classrooms felt pupils listened more intently, that teachers knew more about pupils' learning, and that student teachers learned more with this than with any other device. Nevertheless, teachers who received such feedback from pupils did not change their behavior any more than other teachers. However, good focus seemed lacking, since the author comments that behavioral goals were not always clear to the student teachers themselves (McNeil, 1962).

Another study reports somewhat similar findings:

> Receiving a summary of their students' opinions had a disorienting effect on the teachers. Although they valued the source of the feedback, they did not know how to use the information which it provided. It might have encouraged them to abandon methods with which they were comfortable and to substitute different and unfamiliar procedures which they had not carefully considered [Lauroesch et al., 1969, p. 30].

When these authors considered the differences due to supervisor conferences, they concluded that the conference was

> . . . helpful in overcoming the disorienting effect of the feedback by providing direction . . . The conference also seems to have had a significant effect in improving the accuracy of teachers' self-appraisal . . . teachers who received written feedback only did not really understand the message [p. 31].

The most experienced researchers in the area have recommended that some kind of focus should accompany playback (Kagan & Krathwohl, 1967; Nielsen, 1964; Reivich & Geertsma, 1968). Apparently the more information the person has about changes expected the more likely he is to change (French, Sherwood, & Bradford, 1966; Gelfand et al., 1971; Gibb, 1971). For example, when "evaluative" focus (emphasis on discrepancies between expected and actual behavior) was compared with more permissive counseling-oriented focus as well as solitary playback and no playback, the evaluative focus increased realism more than the other three (Murff, 1973).

Evaluation is an important means for changing teacher attitudes (Edgar & Warren, 1969). We suspect in fact that, if the goal is defined with sufficient precision, the means to achieve it need not be specified. The person seems able to do that for himself.

When no guidance is given,

> . . . reactions to self-viewing of one's teaching performance on videotape are determined largely by the viewer's predispositions . . . self-viewing on video tape will not lead to any desirable attitudinal and behavioral changes unless it serves as feedback, that is, information about the amount of departure from desired performance [Salomon & McDonald, 1970, p. 285].

It is even hinted that the *kind* of focus influences the kind of outcome achieved. When one group of prison counselors focused on their own affect and another group focused on the affect of clients, focus determined outcome (Grzegorek, 1971). When the outcome sought was reduction of defensive behavior in small problem-solving groups, feedback that emphasized feelings was more effective than feedback that focused on task (Gibb, Smith, & Roberts, 1955). When the focus is a model, similarity of the model to the subject may be important, for example, a student model for a student teacher (Koran, 1968).

In summary, the case for focus is much stronger than the evidence that focus has no effect (Hemrick, 1971; Weber, 1971) or adverse effects (Gasswint, 1968). Focus may provide explanation and goal specification as well as confrontation.

It is even possible that lack of focus has adverse effects. Apparently if subjects are not helped to focus on important aspects of behavior (Bedics & Webb, 1971), they focus on themselves. Of course, the purpose of the feedback might well be to have them focus on themselves, particularly if it is desired to foster awareness of discrepancies between performance and desired performance.

Often, however, when it is not intended that the teacher focus on herself, she may do so anyway. For example, when student teachers see their video tapes by themselves, the hope usually is that they will correct some behavior in relationship to pupils. The likelihood, however, is that they will focus on themselves, not on pupils. Reports about microteaching, for example, suggest that the first reaction of the teacher may be to herself.

> "I was horrified the first time I saw myself on video tape," says Alice Gill, a microteaching graduate who took a three-week course in November 1967. "My voice sounded hard—I wouldn't want to listen to myself all day. My movements were stiff, too. And every time I asked a question, I posed like the 'Thinker' with my hand under my chin." [Teaching Teachers, 1969, p. 30.]

However, the focus provided for Miss Gill was not upon her feelings about herself, her voice, or pose.

> In her minicourse, Miss Gill was studying how to ask good questions effectively. Did she answer her own questions without giving the pupils a chance? Did she repeat questions, thus wasting valuable classroom time? [p. 30].

Obviously Miss Gill was attending to aspects of her teaching performance other than those to which formal attention was being given. It would not be astonishing to discover that she learned more about her mannerisms than about her questioning behavior.

Why Is Focus Necessary?

When there is no focus, when the person sees his videotape alone for example, dissonance is probably low. It is possible that low dissonance feedback rewards existing behavior so that behavior does not change. When there is focus, reinforcement in the focus may operate to select certain behaviors for repetition whereas others drop out. Then the behavior does change.

Focus may also provide information to the human subject. It specifies what is wanted, what will be rewarded, and the direction he should take to get the reward.

Another explanation is that we behave toward ourselves with the same protectiveness that we have been culturally trained to employ in our relations with others (Kagan, 1970a). We employ various devices to protect our self-esteem, devices which operate below the level of awareness. In our usual encounters with others we act as though we buy their deception. When their verbalization tells us one thing and their nonverbal behavior tells us another, we believe their nonverbal

behavior, but we don't let them know that we see the nonverbal behavior. Perhaps an individual seeing himself does the same thing. If his nonverbal message is too threatening, he does not let himself know he sees it. There is no focus and no change. However, when focus is present, it calls attention to the discrepancy, and change is more likely than when the discrepancy is simply overlooked.

Depending on the characteristics of the subject, the situation, the focuser, and the kind of focus, various outcomes might occur. For example, given a dogmatic teacher with low self-esteem in a high threat situation, focus may result in defensive behavior. If an open subject has high self-esteem, focus may result in self-exploration.

What Kind of Focus?

The effects of focus may also depend upon the kind of focus which is offered.

Moderate focus. Confrontation can be viewed as a kind of interpretation or statement about what the person does not know about himself or his behavior. An adaptation of the Johari Window (Luft, 1961) illustrates the kind of unawareness which confrontation is designed to reduce.

The public sector is what is known both to the person and to those who know him. The private sector is what is known to the person, but not to others. The important sector here is the incongruent sector: what is known to others, but unknown to the person himself. Focus addresses itself to this incongruent sector.

In the sense that confrontation is a statement about what others know about a person which the person does not know about himself, confrontation can range from shallow to deep interpretation. Depth depends upon how aware the person is of what is focused upon and how different it is from the person's expectation or from his ideal. An example is a videotape showing a teacher being played for a fool while she is unaware that her behavior is eliciting ridicule. We can assume that being ridiculed is very different from her ideal. When unawareness and negative evaluation are combined, that is, when we find out something about ourselves which is both new and unwelcome, the interpretation is said to be deep, rather than shallow or moderate.

Moderate levels of interpretation seem most effective in raising and maintaining desirable levels of behavior; some work has been done

		Self	
		Known	Unknown
Others	Known	Public	Incongruent
	Unknown	Private	Unconscious

Fig. 1. An individual as he is known and unknown to self and others (Fuller, Bown, and Peck, 1967, p. 6, adapted from Luft, 1961).

on measuring depth of interpretation (Harway, Dittman, Raush, Bordin, & Rigler, 1955; Raush, Sperber, Rigler, Williams, Harway, Bordin, Dittman, & Hays, 1956). In attitudinal matters, moderate dissonance seems most effective in causing attitude change. In general, most reports support the notion that moderate confrontation is more promising than confrontation which is very shallow or very deep (Bergin, 1966; Bergman, 1951; Speisman, 1959). One study hints that teachers attempt to modify discrepancies, i.e., distance from the goal, when given the opportunity. Four kinds of feedback were offered teachers. Those offered feedback concerning the extent to which their behavior matched the style they *chose* to practice were the only group to abandon the less familiar discovery style in favor of a more familiar expository style (Emmer, Good, & Oakland, 1970), presumably setting for themselves a goal within closer reach and so providing for themselves a more moderate discrepancy.

Personal focus. There is some hint that the presence of another person is an important element in producing arousal. One group of subjects viewed playback in the presence of a living person to whom each subject was to tell his thoughts and feelings, while two other groups merely stopped the video tape on various instructions. The first group showed the most marked decrease in cardiac activity and increase in eccrine sweat rate of all three groups. Subjects in this personal feedback group reported being under great strain but they felt they "learned a lot" (Archer, Fiester, Kagan, Rate, Spierling, & Van Noord, 1972). On the other hand, the presence of another person is reported to produce less anxiety (Breen, 1970). In addition, another person who provided and reinforced a model of appropriate behavior reduced self-devaluation of both cognitive and physical performance (Watts, 1973).

Perhaps focus ought to be handled by someone who has a good "feel" for what actually went on during the performance itself. Faculty supervisors needed extensive training, but students and cooperating teachers who were most familiar with the circumstances surrounding the performance were found to be able to lead video feedback sessions (Joyce, 1967). However, review by a fellow instructor, combined with microteaching for vocational instructors, was no more effective than review by others (Harrington & Doty, 1971). Perhaps another person, but perhaps only one with certain characteristics, can contribute by readying the person to benefit from the confrontation.

Remedial focus. It seems only humane to focus on aspects of the performance which can be remedied rather than on those about which the subject can do nothing. Focus on nervous tics (Wolfe, 1970), height, or skin color certainly seems cruel as well as fruitless. However, an astonishing number of descriptive clinical reports discuss focus on behaviors which are extremely resistant to change: nervous habits, such as handwaving and saying "O.K.," regional accents, and so on.

Lack of focus. Failure to focus at all can apparently result in focus on nonremedial aspects of the playback. An example has already been given of older women who focus on their wrinkles and sagging chins. In this case, doing nothing may be doing something, since absence of focus may well constitute instructions to focus on self. Since many aspects on which the teacher is likely to focus are quite resistant to change, lack of focus may possibly foster decrements for some teachers.

Characteristics of the Focuser

Apparently the characteristics of the helper in the self-confrontation experience have considerable influence upon the way things go. For example, when Searle (1969) compared regular group counseling groups with other groups which had video feedback in addition to counseling, neither treatment approach significantly affected either the growth-facilitating or growth-preventing behavior of the subjects. However, differences between groups of different counselors were significant, "indicating that the counselors seemed to be the key to any changes of behavior which resulted [p. 2970]."

Helpers can be noxious as well as helpful (Carkhuff, 1969). The probability is quite low, in fact, that even trained professional therapists will have the characteristics necessary for interpersonal helpfulness. About two out of three counselors are probably not helpful and may even be noxious (Truax & Mitchell, 1971). It appears in fact, that most of the good outcomes of psychotherapy are accomplished by relatively few therapists. As the old saying goes, wolves hire out very cheaply as shepherds.

Facilitating

When we consider all the qualities required of a helpful person, and the additional demands made upon the person who is the focuser in self-confrontation, it is not surprising that findings show that supervisory conferences have little influence on performance (McKnight, 1971). From two summaries of the literature on interpersonal skills (Carkhuff, 1969; Truax & Mitchell, 1971) we derive an inpressive list of required characteristics. Helping persons have CARE: *C*ommunicated *A*uthenticity, *R*egard for the other person which is positive, and *E*mpathy. Their communications are concrete and "immediate," that is, addressed to the subject's present psychological state. They have persuasive potency, enthusiasm, genuineness. They emphasize remedial rather than nonremedial genuineness. The few studies on helpful characteristics of supervisors of teachers are consistent with this description. For example, indirect supervisors are more positively regarded by their teachers (Blumbert & Amidon, 1965) and produce more favorable effects (Blumberg, 1968; Sandefur, Pankratz, & Sullivan, 1969).

Confronting

Helping persons do confront their clients significantly more often. They get the client to acknowledge his discrepant perceptions (Berenson, Mitchell, & Laney, 1968; Berenson, Mitchell, & Moravec, 1968; Mitchell & Namenek, 1972). However, simply presenting information about discrepancies, e.g., between ideal and actual performance, does not by itself lead to change either because of anxiety arousal (Schmuck, 1971) or lack of awareness. Both affective tone and discrepancy size influence arousal (Block, 1964) and probably awareness.

The helper who uses confrontation must be skilled in manipulating what we have called the depth of the focus—a complex task. The focuser usually cannot choose a performance moderately discrepant from the ideal. He generally must use whatever performance is taped. Performances vary, of course, so that in some the discrepancies are very large, in some they are both large and small, and in some they are small.

Since he can't select just the right performance, the helper must modify the discrepancy by his emphasis and attitudes. Where several matters can be focused on, he can choose one which is moderately discrepant. This is only one of the many skills required (Fuller & Baker, 1970).

The focuser also needs to separate two roles which are usually combined. One of these is the role of observer who describes what he observes but makes no judgments about it. The other role is that of the goal negotiator. In this second role, the helpee and the helper bargain. In the usual supervisory task, both roles are combined. However, if different kinds of discrepancies are to be identified at different points in the confrontation process, these two roles must be differentiated. Obviously each of these roles requires considerable training.

The focuser also needs the experience of being videotaped himself, not in a "second language" situation, but in some situation which elicits his automatic behavior in the same way that teaching does for neophyte teachers. Otherwise he may be unduly harsh or lack perceptiveness. Students who have been videotaped themselves were less severe with classmates. Classmates gave the highest ratings to a fellow student, followed by the student himself, and judges rated students lowest (Hirschfeld, 1968). Among inservice teachers too, peers gave higher ratings than students (Johnson et al., 1963).

One of the writers had the opportunity of observing counselors of videotaped teachers over a period of several years. Counselors who had themselves received video playback were more likely to espouse the type of treatment which a later review of the empirical literature suggested: low stress and moderate confrontation. In this case, perhaps the experience is as good a teacher as reading a review of the literature like this one!

A Conceptualization for Teacher Education

Self-confrontation is a stressful, arousing, partly covert experience with potential for harm as well as help. Its most frequently observed effects are intense focusing on the self, general activation of the system, and increased realism about the self. Perhaps teacher educators and psychotherapists are enthusiastic about video playback for the same reasons. Playback is eminently well-suited for both their advantaged constituencies, and playback solves one of their most pressing problems: how to increase motivation for change.

Effects on performance are complex. Sometimes performance is improved, and sometimes it is disrupted. Changes in behavior are sometimes quite temporary, and sometimes they persist. The effects of self-confrontation on performance seem to depend upon characteristics of the person, the feedback, and the playback, and perhaps of processes not yet understood.

Much of this terrain is still unchartered. Nevertheless, because of the wide use of video playback in teacher education, it seems worthwhile to attempt a conceptualization of outcomes, processes, and procedures using the few markers which exist.

Confrontation Outcomes

Arousal. Apparently arousal occurs because people are fascinated by themselves and have peculiarly intense reactions to presentation of their voices and bodies.

Arousal may also be amplified by one's expectation that he will find out something about himself which others know but which he does not know. For example, some difference exists between what he thought he was doing and what the film shows him to be doing. This discrepancy between *e*xperiencing and *o*bservation we will call *e-o*.

Perhaps some difference also exists between what he observes himself to be doing and what he intended to do. This discrepancy between *o*bservation of his behavior and his *g*oal we will call *o-g*. In short, he anticipates that, when he can see himself as others see him, he will find out something others know about him that he does not know about himself. Furthermore, he may find he has been "wrong" about himself, that others have something "on" him, that he is at a disadvantage, in short that there are both *e-o* and *o-g* discrepancies. Reduction of both of these may be necessary for behavior change (Wagner, 1972).

Satisfaction. He may notice another discrepancy, that between his *e*xperience of his performance and his *g*oal—*e-g*. After his performance but before playback, he notices some difference, large or small, between what he felt he did and what he hoped to do. This difference between *e*xperience and *g*oal is his degree of satisfaction with his performance.

If this *e-g* discrepancy is very large, he is very dissatisfied with his performance. It fell far short of his goals. If this discrepancy is small or non-existent, he is very satisfied with his performance. Apparently the size of this discrepancy influences what happens next. Our best guess is that if this pre-playback discrepancy is very large, the person feels his performance is terrible, and either gives up or erects some defense against the information it communicates. He may feel the performance was influenced by conditions beyond his control for example. In either case, he is not likely to be motivated to utilize the information, although he may be stressed and dithered by it.

Of course these effects will be influenced by his characteristics, such as his capacity for change and by characteristics of the performance situation. For example, if he has great capacity for change, and the teaching situation militated against a good performance, he may be aroused to learn how to handle that situation. So the *e-g* discrepancy probably interacts with other variables on arousal.

On the other hand, the *e-g* discrepancy may be very small. The teacher may consider his performance near perfect. The feedback then is unlikely to amplify arousal to change the performance. Of course, treatment can influence this. For example, new, higher goals may be set. He may be told "You should try to be a TV teacher." Then arousal

may occur. Therefore, treatment variables (as well as subject and situation variables) probably influence arousal resulting from playback.

Realism. Realism can be defined in several ways. If realism is defined as agreement between the viewer's description of himself and an observer's description of him, then self-confrontation apparently increases realism. People come to describe themselves in terms which are more similar to the terms used by others. We might say that this is an *o-o'* discrepancy: my observation of myself vs. your observation of me.

Realism can also be defined as congruence, that is, as resemblance between what a person thinks he is doing, feeling, and so on (his experience of his behavior) and what he sees he is doing, feeling, and so on. This *e*xperience-*o*bservation discrepancy was mentioned above as the *e-o* discrepancy. For example, student teachers are often astounded at their facial expression. "I look so sad! I didn't feel sad." The research does not tell us whether this discrepancy is reduced. Probably increased congruence requires not just change in awareness, but also a change in behavior: either new feelings to match the discrepant behavior, or new behavior to match the discrepant feelings.

Whether *o-o'* discrepancy reduction (more agreement between subject and observer) leads to more or less positive attitudes toward the self appears to depend on the *o'-g* discrepancy (the observer's evaluation). If the observations are like the goal, that is, if the evaluation is high, the person's perception is revised upward. Then, of course, positive attitudes can be expected to increase. If the performance is negatively evaluated, then reduction of the *o-o'* discrepancy (agreement with the observer) can be expected to decrease positive attitudes toward the self.

Performance. Apparently we can teach ourselves some things that others cannot teach us, and we can learn more from ourselves or at least from our own voices and images than from others. At the same time, other input to modify our goals seems necessary for change. We might call this the *g-g'* discrepancy. The function of focus may be not only to specify but also to enrich the confrontee's goals.

Self-confrontation can also disrupt performance, and gains from it can be short-lived. What *seems to* happen is that characteristics of the person, the feedback, the playback situation, and the supervisor or other helper combine in a complex process to produce mixed outcomes (Aikire, 1969). Perhaps confrontation amplifies what is currently happening, be it facilitative or disruptive.

A placebogenic view (Shapiro, 1971) may be heuristic for self-confrontation. For simple populations, simple placebos like pink pills might work, but for sophisticated populations like college students, more complex placebos like video playback may be necessary. Self-confrontation may be such a nonspecific treatment, one that does what a good placebo does—activates the system, arouses interest, prepares the person for change, and produces satisfied customers—but does not of itself accomplish change.

Perhaps the greatest value of self-confrontation lies in these placebo-like qualities, its nonspecific effects, its permission to the learner to seize control of his own learning by playing all the parts: that of the experiencer, the observer, and the goal setter.

Confrontation Processes

Confrontation seems to be accepted by the person on one of three levels. On one level, the person spontaneously confronts himself as he is. He is speaking his native tongue with all its para-language. On another level, the person confronts his performance, his conscious information-processing, decision-making behavior. In the first case, he confronts himself, his "automatic" behavior. In the second case, he confronts his performance, his "instructed" behavior. In the third, he confronts the consequences of both.

Self-confrontation: changing automatic behavior. In the case of automatic behavior, the first overt sign of change may be disrupted behavior (Lewin's "unfreezing" stage). If the person is open and has relatively positive attitudes about himself; if he is not too distracted by body cues; if his anxiety reaction to threat is moderate; if he has considerable personal assets; if the playback is trustworthy and not too long delayed; if the playback situation is one of psychological safety; if strong personal focus is provided upon remedial discrepancies which are moderate rather than too large or too small; then he may take the first step in a process of "deautomatization," and his behavior may become disrupted.

If certain other conditions are present, the behavior might be reassembled in a new way: if behavior to be changed is well discriminated; if the person has the capacity to change; if the goal is specified; if the focus is upon an area that is susceptible, not resistant to change; if the helper is not noxious; and, if opportunities are provided in which new feelings can be elicited and new behaviors can be practiced and rewarded in the *in vivo* situation.

From a practical point of view the steps which follow confrontation of suitable candidates by suitable helpers seem to be these: arousal through feedback and focus on experience-goal discrepancies; increased *awareness* through focus on experience-observation discrepancies and observer-observer discrepancies; *disrupted behavior* through helper facilitation; *goal setting* through focus on experience-goal and observation-goal discrepancies; *discrepancy reduction* through simulated practice; and *behavior reassembly* through *in vivo* practice.

Such a process includes obvious dangers and opportunities for missteps. The educator who undertakes it needs many kinds of expertise—the abilities to assess, to facilitate, to interpret, to handle anxiety and disrupted behavior. He also needs material resources and power, particularly some control over the *in vivo* situation.

Whether behavior changes, posited to result from such a process, persist over time is not known. One study applied this process in part, omitting the simulated practice (Fuller, Peck et al., 1969). Changes occurred, but whether they persisted over longer periods will not be known until a current follow-up is completed.

Performance confrontation: changing instructed behavior. Confrontation with one's *instructed* performance is less disruptive than self-confrontation and is more immediately productive but perhaps its effects decrease over time. Here the person is attempting to perform some specific behavior which is more or less under his conscious control.

The procedures used in microteaching illustrate performance

confrontation. Disruption in behavior is not reported to occur in microteaching, whereas such reports are frequent in other kinds of self-confrontation.

Impact confrontation: changing the consequences of one's behavior. Impact has been fed back by the program analyzer, by pupil opinion questionnaires, by information about pupil learning and by split screen playback showing pupils' responses. Impact confrontation may be the most powerful procedure but also the most disturbing (Johnson et al., 1963; Lauroesch et al., 1969). It seems possible that different outcomes can occur under different conditions.

A Confrontation System

No combination of self-confrontation, performance confrontation, and impact confrontation seems to have been tried. These three kinds of confrontation, however, seem remarkably relevant to teachers' developing concerns which have been conceptualized as concerns about self, concerns about task, and concerns about pupils (Fuller, 1969; Fuller, Parsons, & Watkins, 1973; Fuller & Watkins, 1973).

Self-concerns and self-confrontation. Neophyte teachers, such as preservice education students, seem to be concerned primarily about themselves, about how they appear to others, about being evaluated, about feelings of inadequacy and so on. Self-confrontation may prove to be helpful to self-concerned teachers. Such self-confrontation should probably emphasize expressive behaviors in *in vivo* dyadic situations such as tutoring with a single child. Appropriate modes would seem to be mirror feedback: video playback, photograph self-image feedback; Interpersonal Process Recall (Kagan & Krathwohl, 1967); and self-confrontation counseling (Fuller, Bown, Newlove, & Brown, 1973). The counselor should be the helper here.

Task concerns and performance confrontation. When teachers have concerns about their teaching performance, about improving their communication skills for example, performance confrontation may be the ticket. Performance confrontation should probably focus upon repeated performance of specifiable behaviors in simulated group situations. Appropriate modes seem to be focused confrontation including modeling, practice, and replay as in microteaching, and opinion-giving both from instructors and peers.

Pupil concerns and impact confrontation. Since concerns about benefit to pupils are much more frequent among inservice than preservice teachers (Fuller, 1969; Fuller, Parsons, & Watkins, 1973), impact confrontation would probably be appropriate most often for inservice teachers and less often for preservice teachers. Impact confrontation could include: split screen video playback in *in vivo* situations with focus upon pupils' responses both to one another and to the teacher; devices like the program analyzer mentioned earlier which provide the teacher with instant feedback about pupil learning during teaching; and pupil opinion about the teacher, such as that elicited by Veldman's SET (Student Evaluation of Teaching) (Veldman, 1970).

A system of personalized teacher education employing confrontation modes appropriate to teachers' concerns is described elsewhere (Fuller, 1972, 1973).

Relationship to Theory

Three different views of behavior change, and some procedures derived from them, have been referred to in this review: self-theory or an experiential view, learning theory or a behavior modification view, and attribution theory. These three views now seem to us not antithetical but rather complementary, each with a different contribution to make to current cyclopean conceptualizations about video playback.

Perceptual formulations. One outcome of playback and one apparent source of influence upon change seems to be the person's realism or lack of it, the discrepancy between his experienced performance and his observed performance. A large discrepancy between these two means that the person is out of contact. He is experiencing something quite different from what an observer would avow. The person is unaware, unrealistic.

A relationship between realism and behavior change is certainly consistent with perceptual views of behavior (Combs, 1965, 1972). Increasing awareness is an important goal of procedures related to this view. Interpersonal Process Recall procedures, for example, are intended to increase awareness and realism (Kagan & Krathwohl, 1967) and as such have an important contribution to make to the process conceptualized here.

Dynamic formulations. A second outcome of playback and an apparent source of influence upon change is arousal, increased motivation, a concern of dynamic formulations. One possible hypothesis is that moderate discrepancies between experience and goal (experienced as mild dissatisfaction) and between experience and observed behavior (experienced as involuntary self-disclosure) are arousing (and perhaps disrupting). This arousal can enhance motivation to change if other conditions are present, such as ego strength or capacity to change.

Another hypothesis (Ronchi, 1972) is that self-confrontation increases attribution of personal causality and hence motivation to change. A third and related hypothesis is that some goals of the person's behavior of which he was previously unaware, become, during confrontation, available to cognitive processes for labeling, discard, and other kinds of change.

Perhaps procedures derived from a dynamic view, such as labeling and verbal association to the playback, may have considerable power for enhancing the processes of change.

Learning formulations. The discrepancy between what the individual is observed to be doing or observes himself to be doing and some goal (or what he intended to do) is a concern of learning theory and behavior modification procedures. Modeling and selective reinforcement, for example, are calculated to reduce this discrepancy and to increase the person's control over his own behavior so that he will observably do what he wants to do. Obviously, procedures to increase the teacher's control of her observable behavior are a *sine qua non* of observable behavior change.

Integrating three theories. Change in entrenched behavior probably requires procedures derived from all three theories. We believe that

changes in entrenched, spontaneous behavior require realism, intentionality, *and* control.

Perhaps when procedures, ostensibly flowing from a single view, work, it is because other processes are also occurring. For example, when microteaching produces changes in control, some intent and awareness are presumed. Perhaps what Pereira and Guelcher (1970) suggest, acquisition of principles rather than skills, is actually occurring. When IPR produces increases in awareness, then intent and opportunities to achieve control are probably also present. Perhaps all discrepancies represented by sides of the triangle shown in Figure 2 need to exist at some optimum level before changes become evident. Research seems worthwhile to test the hypothesis that change in entrenched behavior is more likely when all three kinds of discrepancies exist at some optimal level.

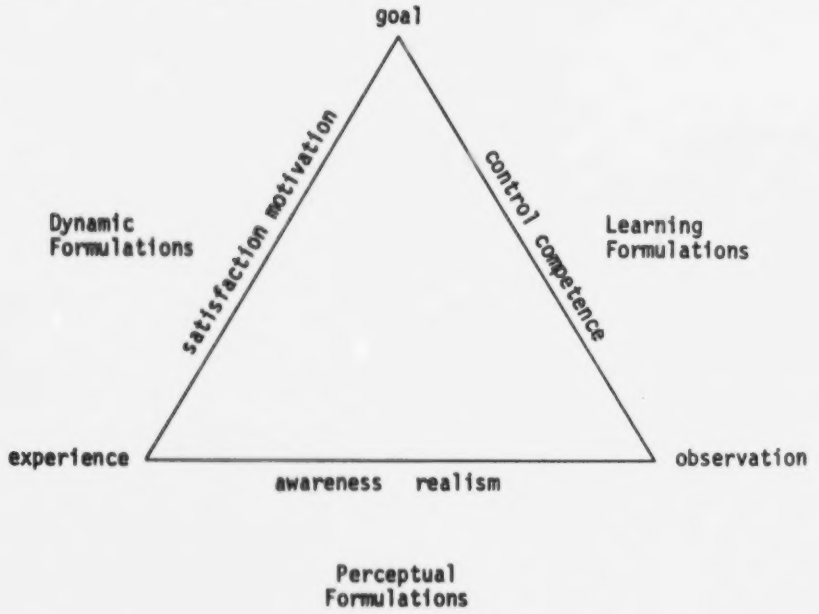

Fig. 2. A representation of posited discrepancies and their conceptual bases.

Implications for Teacher Education

Probable present processes. What is likely to be going on when video playback is used in teacher education? The obvious answer is—a lot more than meets the eye!

In the usual situation, an unselected group of student teachers sees unselected video tapes of teaching which occurred in a wide variety of classrooms and teaching climates. Sometimes they see the tape alone, sometimes with a supervisor or peers. What are the chances that the conditions will be present which facilitate gain? What conditions are likely to be present which might cause decrements?

The student teacher population is probably an ideal one for this treatment. They are generally female "YAVIS"—young, attractive, verbal, intelligent, successful, and likely to be openminded, with high self-esteem: a population with promise for change. Still, any who lack these qualities will not be refused the treatment since systematic assessment is rarely done. There is also the danger that "poor" teachers have characteristics which make them least likely to benefit from the treatment, but more likely to be treated in the hope that they will see what they are doing wrong and correct it. The "poor" teacher likely to benefit is probably one who underassesses her moderately poor performance but has good potential for improving it. The "poor" teacher who is least likely to benefit is one who overassesses her poor performance and has little potential for improving it.

The playback session may be less than ideal: it may be stressful, with pressure to improve rather than opportunity to exhibit disrupted behavior for awhile; it may be "for real" rather than "as if"; it may either lack focus (as when the teacher sees her film alone) or focus on discrepancies which are too large or too small.

Focus, if it is provided, may be on behaviors which are difficult or impossible to change, such as tics, accent, or saying "O.K." Such focus is at best worthless and at worst damaging.

Supervisors are untrained for this complex, demanding role and are unlikely to have just the right combination of characteristics to be helpful. If we are to believe what seems to be a strong convergence in the literature, the base rate for helpfulness among unselected and untrained persons is simply against them.

Worst of all, everyone's expectations are probably both too high and too low. What is hoped for is unlikely to happen, and what might happen is hardly dreamed of.

What is hoped is that teachers will correct what they are doing wrong and improve what they are doing right. As we have seen, the probability is low that this will result from current average practice. Thus, present expectations of present practice for quick improvement are probably too high. At the same time, self-confrontation shows promise for performing two difficult jobs: changing entrenched behaviors and putting the change process into the hands of the learners themselves.

Priorities. A first priority seems to be to demonstrate that the unfreezing-change-refreezing sequence can follow playback.

A close second is the development of felicitous combinations of feedback modes: perhaps *in vivo* video playback and physiological feedback (Archer et al., 1971) for initial arousal and discrepancy identification; stimulated recall for deautomatization of patterns of initiation and responses to dependency and hostility (Kagan & Krathwohl, 1967); audio playback for verbal skill practice and for peer confrontation; audio playback plus peer "rehash" for peer focused feedback; roleplay video playback for developing such subtle interpersonal skills as those required for dealing with persons from unfamiliar cultural milieus; and particularly, emphasis upon impact feedback for those who, like inservice teachers, seem likely to be concerned about others rather than about themselves.

Third, procedures need to be developed so that teachers can manage their own feedback as though they were focusers themselves.

Checklists and texts, as well as interaction analysis systems which focus on affective change, must be developed (Miller, 1972).

Fourth, treatments are needed for reducing discrepancies of all sorts. These can range from conventional practices like lectures to less conventional ones like cosmetic surgery, depending on the particular deficiency.

If those four tasks can be accomplished, then some of teacher education's most resistant problems might be addressed: changing firmly entrenched behaviors; motivating educators to give and receive inservice education; fostering autonomous, self-sustaining learning. Such applications require careful planning and evaluation, but we are persuaded that they need not await long-drawn-out research and development. They ought to be begun now on the basis of present knowledge. Many practical devices for such implementation have already been developed (Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, 1972).

Guidelines for practice. Certainly no precise prescriptions are possible in so vast and complex an area, but we will attempt some guidelines for practice.

Chances that the posited change sequence will occur seem best under the following conditions: when the teacher and focuser are selected for qualities shown to be useful in confrontation; when the teacher has concerns or goals for herself related to teaching; when the performance situation is typical rather than unusual; when the feedback is unambiguous, trustworthy, informative and is accepted overtly and covertly by the teacher as representing what actually went on; when the teacher can identify, before playback, deficiencies in her performance as she experienced it (i.e., discrepancies between her experience and her goals); when the playback situation is a psychologically safe one; when the teacher, either spontaneously or through focus, identifies discrepancies: 1) between her experienced and observed performance, 2) between her observations and observations of the focuser, 3) between her goals and the goals of the focuser, and 4) between her observed performance and mutually agreed-upon goals; when clear focus is provided; when discrepancies focused upon are moderate, rather than large or small; when disrupted behavior is recognized as part of the change process; when treatments are provided to establish new behaviors; and when *in vivo* experiences are tailored to reassemble new automatic behaviors.

Deleterious effects seem least likely when subjects are not required to submit to playback if they strongly object, if they have disabilities which are not remedial or if they are unlikely to benefit; and when supervisors, too, are videotaped in *in vivo* situations and themselves experience self-confrontation.

Confrontation is an important component of teacher education generally. Hence these guidelines may be useful, not just in planning video playback programs, but in planning laboratory experiences, supervision, and even in designing courses.

Research implications. Research is obviously needed to test the propositions posed here since conclusions are derived in great part from scattered findings, different populations, and clinical reports. A list of these propositions is available (Fuller & Taube, 1973).

Study is needed of outcomes in relation to subject, situation, and

helper characteristics posited here to influence outcomes. For example, do certain kinds of teachers have a better chance of becoming realistic about their performance? Opposite outcomes of self-confrontation on different populations might be cancelling out effects.

The process, too, needs investigation. Can an unfreezing-change-refreezing sequence be engendered by video playback? The whole sequence from discrepancy identification through discrepancy reduction needs to be examined. Such research is needed not just in preservice teacher education but in other settings (Kagan, 1970a).

Summary of the Conceptualization

We posit the following process before, during, and after playback.

After the taping and before the playback, the person privately evaluates his performance and identifies discrepancies between his experienced performance and his goal. This is his satisfaction with his performance. The content of these discrepancies is likely to resemble the teacher's current concerns. The size of these discrepancies is likely to influence the positiveness or negativeness of his attitudes toward playback before it occurs, and to influence both his motivation to change and the actual effects of the playback.

During playback the person recognizes discrepancies between his experienced and his observed performance. This recognition activates the system and identifies how much or little realism about the self the person has.

If there is focus, the person also identifies discrepancies between his own observations and observations of the helper. If the helper is a discriminating reinforcer, has facilitating characteristics and is himself realistic, the subject's realism will be increased. If the helper is noxious, realism will either not change or will decrease depending on other characteristics of the teacher and the situation.

If increased realism involves less positive self-evaluation, subsequent behavior will be disrupted. The disruption is more likely to be observable if supervison is facilitating and the person is open. Disruption is more likely to be covert if supervision is restrictive and the person is closed.

Recovery requires both treatments calculated to reduce discrepancies as well as opportunities for reassembly of behavior and for practice in the *in vivo* situation. Treatments may include procedures derived from dynamic, perceptual *and* learning theories. One promising possibility seems to be to integrate combinations of procedures into self-confrontation, performance confrontation, and impact confrontation. Self-confrontation is likely to identify and to disrupt automatic behaviors which need to be changed. Performance confrontation, on the other hand, is likely to provide explicit behavioral goals as vehicles to "re-automate" disrupted behaviors. Impact confrontation provides more sophisticated goals and a route to autonomous self-improvement. Combined, they show promise of fostering goal-oriented change which is spontaneous, permanent, and self-automated.

Concluding Remarks

At the outset of this paper, the optimism of clinical opinions and the pessimism of research reports were contrasted. Now the riddle

seems riddle no longer. Practitioners have good reasons for their optimism about self-confrontation, and researchers have good grounds for skepticism.

Video playback may be resolving practitioners' most pressing problems—motivating client-students for treatment and putting responsibility for learning into the learner's own hands. In addition, their populations have characteristics which make them ideal subjects for this treatment.

On the other hand, the cautions of empiricists are certainly warranted. They see a powerful tool, whose nature and effects are little understood, cutting a wide swath and perhaps destroying the wheat with the chaff.

In short, self-confrontation has potential for help and harm.

It is a novel, powerful source of information about those aspects of the self which are perceived by others but not by the self. Its peculiar value lies in its ability to communicate negative information which others could, but are loath to communicate, and usually cannot communicate in a totally acceptable manner.

This information, if it is bad news about the self, is disorganizing, at least temporarily. Its disruptive effects may be most apparent for strong people who are open and trusting. The treatment "takes," and they reveal their disorganization by decrements in behavior. Those who are more "closed" and defensive probably benefit less in the long run, but appear to be more poised and less disorganized than those who benefit more. Assessing the effects of confrontation may thus be difficult.

Those who are vulnerable and without capacity to change can be damaged. It is possible that the true potential of this treatment has never been completely tapped because immediate effects are so powerful that the helper senses the potential for harm and either tries to protect the person from its impact by a task orientation (as in microteaching), or else fails to follow through to the *in vivo* situation (as in psychotherapy).

Self-confrontation is probably partly a powerful placebo. As a placebo, however, it should not be despised. The image of the sugar pill is not only pallid but incomplete. A treatment with nonspecific effects may be ideal because it permits the person to derive from it what he will. Whereas specific-effect treatments control the person, he can use placebo treatments or not as his desires, conscious or not, dictate. Teaching is, or hopefully could be, the finest placebo of all.

We suggest careful studies of immediate, intermediate, and long-term effects of different types and combinations of playback, for individuals who vary along the dimensions of congruence, competence, self-esteem and openness; for performances which vary in distance from the teacher's ideal; for situations which are more and less stressful; for focus which varies from nonexistent to strong; and for outcomes which are implicit and explicit.

If the actual processes which occur resemble those posited here, and if the discrepancies among experiencing, observation, and goal actually can be reduced, the outcomes posited here might be expected—increased realism, satisfaction, and competence. Translating realism, satisfaction, and competence, into truth, joy, and beauty is not too difficult. Truth, joy and beauty! Classic quarry of self-

transcendence! Our youngest friends, including teachers, find these worthy goals.

In sum, self-confrontation now seems to us more promising than we had dared hope and more dangerous than we knew to fear.

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5

Strategies, commitment and identity; making and breaking the teacher role

Peter Woods

Source: Peter Woods, 'Strategies, commitment and identity; making and breaking the teacher role', in Len Barton & Stephen Walker (eds), *Schools, Teachers & Teaching*, Falmer Press, Barcombe, Sussex, 1981, pp. 283-302.

There has been much interest, of late, among sociologists in teacher strategies (Lacey 1977; Hargreaves, A. 1977, 1978 and 1979; Pollard 1980a; Woods 1977 and 1980). This is partly because the concept offers a way of getting to the heart of school action, until recently an under-researched area; and partly because it allows for the consideration of the influence of both structurally generated constraints and of individual biography.

Thus Hargreaves (1977) came to see strategies as the meeting point of societal determination and individual construction in the concept of 'coping strategies'. While this draws attention to what has to be coped with, to the problems and constraints that are externally determined, it also recognizes the act of creativity on the part of the teacher. Hargreaves (1978) argued that teachers are wrestling with educational goals in current capitalist society that are fundamentally contradictory, (e.g. 'egalitarianism' but 'socialization for the occupational order'), operating under material conditions which are a product of planning and politics, and assailed by a number of differing educational ideologies. Strategies are given a further twist by institutional mediation of these constraints.

However, to the extent that Hargreaves has developed the model (1977, 1978, 1979), he has so far tended to emphasize the constraints, at the expense of teacher creativity. We have adaptations, given in the examples of strategies of 'policing' and 'confrontation avoidance' (Hargreaves, 1979). But he does not discuss negotiations, which arise from a dialectical interplay of teachers' own intentions and resources and the structurally determined conditions that confront them.

In attempting to correct this imbalance, Pollard (1980a) makes two significant inputs, one at the middle level of the institution, in the form of the influence of children in interaction with teachers, teacher culture, and what he calls 'institutional bias'; the other in the area of teacher biography. He points out that while constraints are important, there are other, equally important issues of 'what it is that "coping" means, how coping is defined by the participants, what criteria are used to judge degrees of coping, what goals do the participants bring to the interaction?' (1980a, p. 13; see also Hammersley, 1980). In offering one kind of answer to these questions, Pollard has recourse to symbolic interactionist theories of the self. A key idea is that the self is not a constant, homogeneous whole, and different facets of it are realized depending on coping requirements. Pollard introduces Schutz' (1970) concept of

'interests-at-hand' to analyze these facets of self. In these, motivational relevance is governed by situational demands and interests, which are 'juggled' depending on how priorities are perceived as classroom processes evolve (see also Pollard, 1980b).

These are important developments, but they need to be taken further, and considered in relation to more teachers. For example, what governs interests and priorities? Again, while the self might not be a consistent whole, is there not some aspect of it that has more permanence, that has repercussions for our actions? One possible kind of answer to such questions, which offers to elaborate the biography end of the model, was suggested to me while reconsidering some data on two teachers, gathered during a year and half's observation in their school in the mid-1970s. The method here is akin to that of analytic induction. It is assumed

> that the exceptional instance is the growing point of science and that cumulative growth and progressive development of theory is obtained by formulating generalizations in such a way that negative cases force us to either reject the generalization or to revise it.
>
> (Lindesmith, 1947, p. 37)

Such a strategy 'makes necessary the intensive analysis of individual cases and the comparison of certain crucial cases' (Denzin, 1970, p. 197). All cases should fit the theory or model, but if one deviant case be found, it should not be discarded, but rather the theory or model should be adjusted to accommodate it. By examining and comparing the two teachers in some detail, therefore, we can test some areas of the Hargreaves/Pollard model, and possibly suggest some refinements and additions. The comparison is not as thoroughgoing as I would wish it, for the analysis is being applied long after leaving the field, and the opportunity for theoretical sampling through 'pinpointing' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) has passed. My analysis, therefore, has the status of a first enquiry, suggesting areas for future focused attention.

The two teachers were ideal for a critical case analysis for they were two remarkable men in a rather remarkable situation. The situation was a traditional secondary modern school ('Lowfield'), with an authoritarian-paternalistic head of very fixed views one year short of retirement. The school also was about to undergo a profound change in status, to comprehensive. It was not, in short, the most propitious moment to try to introduce radical change.

This was rather irksome for our two heroes, who held radical views. Tom was head of art, in his early fifties; Dick in his twenties, at the other end of the teaching career, taught social studies. The difference in age and career stage might appear to invalidate any one-to-one comparison, but in this particular instance, the data suggests that their different achievements may be a product of other differences between them. I shall suggest that one possible reason why Tom had survived for so long, despite his radical views, in what seemed a hostile environment, and that Dick lasted for so short a spell (one year at the school, though he had spent each of the two preceding years at two other schools) was to be found in their types of commitment and their conceptions of identity. I want, first, to establish their similarity in views of teaching, and to illustrate their different strategical orientations.

Views of Teaching

Tom and Dick were very similar in respect of their values and beliefs about teaching. They were contributors to that style of teaching that Hammersley (1976) has called, following Schur, 'radical non-interventionism', or that Dale (1978) has characterized as the 'hippy' strand of the progressive movement.

The most explicit example of this for both teachers was in their views of and approach to pupils as equals, their rejection of the traditional teacher role, and their dislike of institutional and bureaucratic aspects of the job. Tom compared himself with the headmaster. They had heated discussions on how and what to teach kids. The head's line was 'when you go in there you should say "you *will* do this!"' But Tom preferred the gardening metaphor. He saw himself as a gardener – the seeds arrive and he will help them grow, now and then applying a little fertilizer (*cf* Parlett and Hamilton, 1972). He was a strong believer in community education. He was the only member of staff to live in the village, fraternizing with the kids and the parents, many of whom he had taught of course, out of school. For him, school had to be seen in this context – as part of the community life. There was frequent reference in his talk to kids as 'human beings' and as 'adults'. Thus, much of the organization of school and of the curriculum militated against treating kids as human beings (for example, there were inadequate resources to make the 'block system' work), and he was for 6th form colleges, for they allow kids to be more adult. He 'loved people'. But the more his love, the greater the frustration at the hundred and one petty administrative things like collecting money, answering letters, the caretaker (a 'union' man and a big problem), and poor teachers'.

Dick had the very same heroes – A.S. Neill in particular. He also articulated the philosophy – education from within, liberation, anti-bureaucracy, and anti-hierarchy. He had had some experience in a Village College, but in his view its progressivism was only skin deep. He had heard some dockers talking about the Liverpool Free School. He gave them A.S. Neill to read. 'If we can get through to parents like this' he said, 'it's a beginning'. He contrasted himself with his predecessor, whom he gathered was rather 'authoritarian'. His approach was rather different, more 'free and easy, trying to make *them* forthcome'. His whole efforts were devoted to try to get the kids to think for themselves, as opposed to trying to force them to do things. The answer was inside oneself, rather than seeking it outside. There was so much talking down to kids in the school – he tried to operate on the same level with them. One example of the elitism he so loathed was when he proposed taking a party to the House of Commons. The headmaster thought that a good idea, but of course 'he would have to take the more able ones, – the "other lot" the intellectual stuff of the House of Commons would go over their heads!'

Dick reiterated the Neill philosophy. The main point about it was *trust* of children. He was for 'living' as opposed to 'lessons', 'emotions' as opposed to 'head-work'. He had faith that Summerhill type schools would become more common. Though he did not doubt initial difficulties. Neill's success in getting kids ultimately to respond to their new found freedom by doing creative things and to change for the better, made him optimistic. They had free choice of lessons, no science (though there was a laboratory for 'discovery purposes'), and a far healthier attitude to sex. Above all, they had a large measure of self-government, which was the basis for social control in the school.

Despite the thirty years or so then that separated Tom and Dick in age, they were broadly of a mind as regards views of teaching and learning. How did they try to realize their aims and what did they achieve?

Strategies

This takes us to a consideration of strategies, and here they were remarkably different.

Dick's strategies took three forms:

a constructive progress,
b ambitious experimentation, and
c radical departures.

Perhaps the most generally recognized constructive contribution Dick made was a brand new social studies CSE programme, carried through despite 'all the headmaster's suspicions and growlings' (for example, he would not hear of Community Service carrying 30% of the marks). 'But he had worked on it with the head of department, Mrs. Lane and, indeed, with Tom, and eventually the head had agreed. It contained not only new subject matter, for example on consumer education and the running of schools, but also new methods, with much project work, a good deal conducted outside the school with the pupil as roving researcher. Interestingly, it was not acknowledged as Dick's invention. Once he had approved of it, the headmaster spoke of 'our brand new social studies syllabus, which Mrs. Lane and the humanities' department have devised'.

Dick's year at the school, however, was characterized more by frenetic and ambitious experimentation. For example, he was very keen on films, and not just ordinary films. Films in lessons, between lessons and in the evenings with the school's film club, which he founded and ran. Swedish sex education films, Dr. Martin Coles' sex education film, and the BBC film of Summerhill were all shown. But to what effect? The A.S. Neill film was shown to fourth and fifth years. The film shows pupil self-government, Neill himself being out-argued and outvoted, and nude bathing in the swimming pool. It also contains two clear messages for aspiring imitators. One was the time it took for the children to become socialized into the A.S. Neill frame of thinking. The other was a comment by Neill that we do not live in a free civilization. 'If I allowed my pupils double beds', he said 'the DES would close my school'. Even Summerhill has limits.

But those of Lowfield were much narrower, and Dick was in a much less powerful position. He was working within a completely different world of meanings and values, where the general culture and other agencies of socialization were much stronger than him, and simply absorbed him within their framework. Thus the reactions of the class to the films were to titter at the bathing sequence, and to demand to see that particular bit again. More seriously, one opined 'It don't seem natural'. Another said 'what happens when they leave and come out into yer actual world? They'll be in a gap'. The tone of the whole discussion afterwards was critical. Asked by Dick if they would have liked to have gone to such a school, there was a massive 'no'. A spokesman declared 'you wouldn't learn anything. They don't have no lessons. You've got to have some order'. Some would argue that these pupils, whatever their lack of academic prowess, had learnt their lesson.

The pupils did not know how to respond to Dick's innovations. When he sent them out on projects some found it difficult to handle their new gained liberty. There were reports of shoplifting, and irate 'phone calls to the school from law-abiding citizens which caused the headmaster to hold an enquiry. When Dick gave them a comic strip sketch on consumer rights, and asked them to fill in the blurbs, they vied with each other in inventing obscenities. When they got bored during a part of one lesson when he was addressing the whole class, and began to talk, gradually louder and louder, *he* was the one who shut up, standing and facing them in silence for a full ten minutes while the storm raged around him. It was that master symbol of the institution, the bell, that brought the disorder to an end, not Dick's new technique.

It is possible to argue that he did achieve something through his approach. Some thought he was a 'great teacher' because he 'fixed things up' 'did interesting

things' 'treated them like human beings'. Others however found him 'rather "queer", not like a proper teacher – he never tells you off'.

The same is true of the staff, a few of whom were, for a time at least, captivated by his ideas and enthusiasm while the rest looked on askance. What could have been a forum for change became more of a caucus of malcontents, who steadily became more divisive and rebellious as the year progressed.

So Dick was eventually emboldened to try something more radical. He attempted to reform the government structure of the school by establishing a School Council. Its initiation was prepared by way of a press campaign through the school's new newspaper, whose editor was, of course, Dick.

The newspaper raised questions about corporal punishment, under the heading 'retribution by physical violence', urged pupils to help change the direction of power within the school structure, to join the School Council and the NUSS, advertised films like 'Strike' and pamphlets like 'Peace News', and advised, 'Don't let them get at you kiddo – come and see us at School Council'. The draft constitution when it appeared declared amongst other things that 'The School Council shall be responsible for making representations to the appropriate bodies on behalf of the students of the school on all matters affecting the day to day running of the school, and shall also act as a consultative body when new rules and regulations are deemed necessary'.

These were all, clearly, radical departures from the school's usual customs and structure. While it was going on, according to Tom the headmaster was girding his loins, going along with it in form if not in content. Thus, when he was asked to expound on his constitutional position to one of Dick's classes, he did so to the letter, reading out the articles of government for all but ten minutes of the period', and in a tone of voice and with a fixity of stare that dared anyone to challenge him. Tom reckoned the head was quietly but definitely preparing a dossier, including all the minutes of School Council meetings. Soon, he had more material available. Dick refused to attend a Speech Day evening. The head told him it was a required duty, but Dick insisted it was against his principles. Another member of the 'anarchists' trust' capitulated, because he was on a short-term contract and wanted the head's reference for a new job, but Dick refused to yield.

When the head tried to breathe life into the wilting house system, Dick entered into the spirit of it with his usual enthusiasm, spending over £7 of his own money to requisition badges for his house, bearing the name of the house and the motif of a black clenched fist on a red background. With this simple trick, it seemed to the head that Dick was threatening to subvert the most hallowed of institutions. After a day or two of furore and debate, during which another master proposed for his house the motif of a Churchillian cigar with a V sign on a blue background, badges were banned, apparently because of their 'communist implications'. Nobody could accuse Dick of being a retreatist or for lacking resource. He sat down immediately and began a long letter to the Chairman of the Governors.

Generally, Dick and the head began to clash more frequently, as when one of Dick's pupils allegedly set off the fire alarm, and had the whole school turned out on the field in a snowstorm. The head was heard by the multitude thundering at Dick to send the miscreant at once to his room, where he proposed to 'put him over his desk and thrash him'. Dick was heard by those near him to reply that he would do so only when the headmaster had 'calmed down a little'.

Eventually, however, Dick's resolution snapped and he resigned after a series of incidents, when the head had exerted himself and reinforced the *status quo*. An interruption of one of Dick's lessons to instil a different structure of expectations, an exertion of authority over the whole school in which the head caused everybody to

suffer because he had been worsted in an incident with two errant fourth formers, and other such happenings, and Dick gave up with a suddenness that stood in stark contrast to the total vigour and resolution of his former application.

Tom seemed to have started out like Dick, but had modified his approach later. He told me about several incidents in his early career similar in spirit to those of Dick. For example, he had got the kids to produce a newspaper. They had a referendum on sport, and 99.9% of them had disapproved of rugby. This went up on the wall, with the other information, and the games' man of the day 'had apoplexy. He was soon round having a right do– "you're undermining my authority" – and only one person in the staffroom would speak to him'. Another edition had a Tarzan like picture, 'not particularly well endowed, a few hairs on the chest'. The senior mistress saw it and was horrified, fetched the head and down it came. On another occasion he initiated a 'great debate' about school uniform but he was the only one to speak out against it. They accused him of trying to sabotage the system, but 'no' he said 'I'm a democrat, I accept the majority vote.' Tom's libertarianism was contained. For instance, the examples above were on off attacks on parts of the system on opportunistic basis, in contrast to Dick's calculated, total assault. Also it could be argued that Tom by virtue of his subject was more peripheral to the main life stream of the school. A somewhat bohemian style could be functional for the school, offering pupils a form of therapy (Woods, 1977).

These days Tom takes it more quietly. But he has not lost sight of his vision and his ideals. Basically he says it's depressing. You just can't 'do it' in the state system. But he does what he can, speaking up now and again in Heads of Departments' meetings on the lines of more freedom, occasionally winning a small victory. Most of his colleagues think he's mad, so he shuts up, he knows he'll never get anywhere.

Just inside the Art Room door is a little sign – 'Conform or Else!' – mocking the system. It applies to staff as well as to pupils. He has learnt the art of compromise. When editing the school magazine, everything had to be submitted to the higher judgement and occasional censorship of the headmaster. He complained, the head insisted, he went through with it. There are, however, limits to Tom's tolerance, for example certain people, who in his opinion were inadequate, being made head of the forthcoming Faculty of Design. He did not necessarily wish it for himself, in fact he thought he had talked away his chances, but he did want somebody with vigour and vision.

Yet, though far from satisfied, Tom does enjoy a measure of achievement. He does teach his own kind of art. He likes the summer season best, when he can take the kids out. They get on a bus and go out to villages, have a snack out, go in a Wimpy and so on, escape the boundaries of school. Or he sends them in small groups to places, to colleagues of his, whom he has contacted beforehand. In school he creates his own kind of environment – informal groupings, pop music, coffee and so on. The Art room is a place where pupils like to go. He is always pleasant with them, laughing, joking, teasing, enquiring about family, extra curricular activities, softening the institutional boundaries, showing the human side of teaching.

Another feature of Tom's strategies that differ from Dick's is their range of application, for he teaches in evening classes, and fraternizes in the local pub, or elsewhere in the local community. To Tom, school is part of life, to be encompassed within the larger design. Dick also had a grand design, but in his spare time applied it to a different community. The close integration of the various compartments of life is an important factor for Tom. He can achieve things in his evening school and at large that he cannot in day school, but which he can nonetheless lay the basis for and form connections with.

Dick tried to revolutionize the power structure. Tom worked to gain power within the system, and to influence those in the upper hierarchy. Tom had gained a

position. He was the senior Art Master and Head of Creative Design. He was a personal friend of the Chairman of the Governors, a local leader of the religion Tom shared with him. The chairman also shared with Tom his views of teaching. It was this very chairman who received Dick's letter of protest about the house badges and who could do no more than try to quieten the matter down. For Dick, therefore, he was the end of the road. But for Tom, he was an avenue to some accomplishment, over and above the power structure of the school, that could nonetheless be fed back into it.

Tom had not only an administrative influence, but also an academic one. For one of his old colleagues at the school, of similar views to his own, had been appointed a county adviser, and visited the school quite frequently when long discussions between them, often over a pint at the local, took place. The deputy head, heir apparent to the headship, was also a kindred spirit, up to a point, often calling in the Art Room for a coffee and a smoke. Tom, in fact, felt that he had helped secure his position as deputy head, by frequently alerting the head to the fact that he was doing all the duties required of such a position. He had also secured this man's appointment as staff representative on the steering committee to oversee the school's transition to comprehensive status, against the Head's initial wishes. In these ways, Tom made his influence felt, and got his views represented. This influence was within the legitimated power structure, and at some important and influential points. One should also note Tom's influence in the community in general, where he was well-known and respected. Parents, seeking a consultation about their children, often bypassed the formalities and went straight to him.

In summary, Tom's approach to teaching carries a veneer of compliance, but he provided therapy for the pupils, a sociation centre in the school, attempted and accomplished the occasional innovation, had an impact on some influential opinons, and linked these efforts with his wider concerns. It was through this partial accomplishment, I suspect, that Tom had managed to preserve his philosophy intact.

How can we categorise these differences between Tom and Dick? Lacey (1977) spoke of three modes of strategic orientation among teachers: (1) strategic compliance, wherein the individual accepts the prevailing system though entertains private reservations; (2) internalized adjustment, where the individual believes the prevailing system is the best; and (3) strategic redefinition, where individuals actually achieve change by 'causing or enabling those with formal power to change their interpretation of what is happening in the situation.' (p. 73). Tom's prevailing mode might be seen as an example of the third variety though with a large injection of the first at crucial points. Dick's might be seen as a 'failed' attempt at strategic redefinition.

Lacey gives an example of one such case among his sample of student teachers. 'Peter' had become vulnerable because of his espousal of the classic 'risk' syndrome of strategic redefinition, collectivizing strategies (i.e. where 'the problem is shared by the group whose collective opinions legitimize the displacement of blame', p. 86), and 'radical direction of displacement of blame'. In these situations, Lacey argues, success depends on the individual's ability to redefine the situation, and, if necessary, to employ compliance strategies at crucial points (ibid, p. 89). Lacey describes this ability as 'sensitivity to the environment and to significant others within it' (p. 90) and quotes extensively from Miller and Parlett (1974) on 'cue-consciousness'.

Kounin (1970) noticed a similar quality among teachers, which he termed 'with-it-ness'. There was, I feel, a marked difference between Tom and Dick in this apprehension, and specifically, to my perception, in sociological awareness. Dick's failure to draw the lessons of Summerhill, to appreciate the difficulties arising from the environmental and temporal circumstances of the school he was in, the limitations as

well as possibilities of pupil and teacher cultures, the power vested in the ongoing organizational structure of the school – all this seems to suggest shortcomings of an awareness which was necessary in a situation where radical political change was being attempted. Tom, by contrast, appeared to have a sound theoretical knowledge of the situation geared to practical action which rose above the recipe knowledge one often finds in beleaguered schools. Time and again, in his discussions with me, he showed intuitive understanding of such refined sociological areas as labelling theory, the amplification of deviance and teacher typifications. I do not have space here to give examples, but there are plenty available in my fieldnotes. Also, the general strategical drift discussed above suggests a considerable sociological awareness.

However, to leave the analysis there would be a mistake. It would be to suggest that Dick was defective in either native ability or knowledge, and I believe neither to be the case. Other factors lay behind this apparent difference in awareness and, to identify them, it is helpful to characterize Tom's strategical orientation as pragmatic, and Dick's as paradigmatic. I borrow the distinction from Hammersley's analysis of teacher styles (1977)

> By paradigm I mean views about how teaching ought to be, how it would be in ideal circumstances . . . The pragmatic component of teacher perspectives is concerned with what is or is not possible in giving circumstances and with strategies and techniques for achieving goals. (p. 38)

Hammersley draws attention to the difficulty of unravelling paradigmatically and pragmatically motivated elements of teacher perspectives. However, I would argue that in this case Dick was drawn towards an orientation that allowed no compromise on his views of how teaching should be, while Tom equally clearly shows a concern for 'what is or is not possible in given circumstances'. We can go further, and on the basis of the evidence that Tom and Dick afford us, claim that, in the paradigmatic orientation, as well as ideals and principles being uppermost, there will be little or no situational adjustment (Becker, 1977). Any 'collectivizing' (i.e. sharing problems with colleagues and seeking a collective view) will be undertaken in the service of those ideals and principles rather than in the more pragmatic teacher culture or subculture (Lacey, 1977). Inasmuch as the norms, rules and values prevailing in the institution are at variance with those of the ideals and principles, they will be subverted, not accommodated. In as much as the power structure is tilted against the ideals, attempts will be made to swing the balance.

In Tom's kind of pragmatic orientation, there is situational adjustment but also some partial redefinition. Tom has come to prefer 'privatization' of his problems, near-conformity of career structure, and acquisition of power within the prevailing framework. All this takes place without the loss of the vision of ideals, though inevitably there is compromise of principles in practice. The mode is characterized by opportunism, testing out chances on a limited front, and seizing whatever possibilities present themselves to further one's aims. They are not necessarily limited to the school.

The comparison of Tom and Dick is suggestive in the area of strategical orientations. Clearly, there is something interposing between ideology and strategy that causes Tom and Dick to go their separate ways. Differences in age and subject specialism may obviously be important. But, since Dick's teaching career came to such a sudden end, there would appear to be other factors. There was, I believe, a marked difference in 'awareness' between them in some respects. But the characterization of their strategical orientations as paradigmatic and pragmatic leads us to other areas on which this difference in awareness may be dependent. My analysis suggested the related concepts of commitment and identity.

Commitment

I have written elsewhere on a form of commitment known as 'career-continuance':

> One of the major social system problems involving the commitment of actors is its continuance as an action system. This involves cognitive orientations bearing on profits and costs, and generally implies commitment to a social system role. The individual who makes a cognitive continuance commitment finds that what is profitable to him is bound up with his position in the organization, is contingent on his participating in the system. There is a profit in his remaining there and a deficit associated with leaving. Continuance is accompanied by 'sacrifice' and 'investment' processes. As a price of membership, members give up something, make sacrifices, which in turn increases commitment. So does investment, which promises future gain in the organization. The member takes out shares in the proceeds of the organization and thus has a stake in its future. He channels his expectations along the organization's path, and the more he does so, the more he increases the distance between this and other possibilities. They grow more remote as his commitment grows larger. In this way the process is self validating, self-reinforcing and frequently irreversible. The member goes on further to lay down what Becker calls 'side bets' as other, unanticipated, sources of reward appear, once the line of action has been chosen.
>
> (Woods, 1979, pp. 143–144)

In a study of a hundred primary teachers (30 men, 70 women), Nias (1980) has identified other forms of commitment. These are first, commitment as vocation – this involves a 'calling' to teach, and the examples include a missionary sense deriving from religion, or the promotion of other ideals, or 'caring' for children. Secondly, there was commitment as profession – a dedication to one's skill as a teacher, involving a continuous search to improve one's knowledge and abilities, and to do the job really well. Thirdly, there was commitment as identity – here, teaching offered people the opportunities to be the sort of people they wanted to be. Fourthly, Nias did recognize the 'career-continuance' kind of commitment identified in my previous research (see also Kanter, 1974). Of course there was overlap in practice among these four analytical forms.

Lacey also, from his questionnaire study (of students on PGCE courses) noticed differences in forms of commitment. One common form was to education in its broadest sense. Teachers with this kind of commitment 'acquire jobs in the schools which they feel will give them the freedom to teach in the ways they wish (comprehensive schools), and already see their careers taking them outside the classroom and ouside the school' (Lacey, 1977, p. 126). They are committed to a set of ideals about education and society, not to teaching as such and, if blocked from achieving their ideals through teaching, will explore other means of bringing them about. This roughly corresponds to Nias' commitment as vocation.

The other form Lacey noted, corresponding to Nias' second category (commitment as profession), was a professional commitment to teach, to a career in the school, and to subject-based teaching. They rated their teaching abilities very highly, and were dedicated to their advancement.

Nias points out that one of the differences between these two forms of commitment (vocation, profession) and the other two (identity, career), is the willingness of the individual to give scarce personal resources – time, energy, money – to one's work (see also Lortie, 1975). Tom and Dick would clearly both be included among the

former categories on that basis. But there were, nonetheless, important differences between them.

It is not surprising that Nias, among primary teachers, and Lacey, among student teachers should find a preponderance of vocational and professional commitment, while in the beleaguered secondary modern school of my research, the prevailing mode was career-continuance. What is surprising, perhaps, is that we should find in the latter two teachers whose forms of commitment were more in line with those in the former categories. However, the type of school forced a crucial difference between Tom and Dick to be revealed. Both Tom and Dick showed 'vocational' commitment. But that does not get us very far, and it misses entirely the real point of contrast between them. For while Tom, by my estimation, was just as committed to ideals as Dick, he was also more committed to the principles and practice of teaching, and over a wider range of application. This enabled him to 'juggle' his interests. Pollard has demonstrated how teachers do this in the immediacy of the classroom situation (1980b). Tom illustrates how one 'juggles' or 'negotiates' on a wider front. I gained the strong impression from him that his own position in the school was always precarious, that is to say his sense of fulfilment, and confidence in what he was doing was perennially a matter of doubt for him. This was perhaps inevitable given the wide gulf between his views and those prevailing within the school at large, which yielded a reality far removed from that desired by Tom.

This position would have been intolerable were it not for those other two broad areas of commitment. The first was to the principles and practice of teaching. Tom was a professional, who, while seeing many faults in the system, nevertheless recognized the need for administration and bureaucracy, for control and examinations and the like. This is illustrated in Tom's approach to the subject choice process, which forces teachers and pupils alike to face the realities imposed on them by structural considerations. Though not a front-line subject, Art, by virtue of entering for 'O' level and CSE faces the same pressures:

> A lot choose Art, yes, and you know why, don't you? I'm not fooled. I say to them, 'Why do you want to do Art'? I say, 'I know, but come on, you tell me', and they say, 'Huh, I don't want to do old biology or whatever, all that homework and so on'. It's an easy option, and they go for it on both lines. My results this year were pretty poor which rather proves my point. But what I do is this. I pick those with most artistic abilty and I like it to be seen to be fair. I don't spring this on them either. I tell them all this at the beginning of the third year. I tell them they'll be judged on the quality of work that goes into their folders, and then, towards the end of the year, I get them to lay it all out, so they can all see, and, of course, some are very good and some are pathetic. There's no other way, not if they want to take the exam. If they just want a skive, they can do it somewhere else.

Here, one might have expected a wholesale commitment to Tom's ideals to have operated against examination results leading the decision-making. The whole tenor of this statement, also, would have been different. As it is, it contains the vocabulary, idiom and implications of traditional teaching – pupils trying to outwit teachers for an easier time, the experienced teacher easily recognizing the attempted subterfuge, poor results, skiving, and the strategy that appear to bridge the gap between ideals and practice – the demonstration of ability by fair procedures.

Despite his own periodic fulminations against bureaucracy, Tom recognized the need for organization. He was himself Head of Art and first year tutor, the first carrying responsibilities for the subject specialism, the second involving important counselling functions. This latter post was another bridging device between ideals

and practice, for it enabled Tom to indulge some of his most cherished ideas centred on interest in the person, including their whole background. But it also brought about frustrations when the channels of communication between Tom and parents were obstructed by the hierarchy.

Dedication to subject specialism was also prominent. Lacey (1977) identified strong student subject sub-cultures, and argued that these operated as latent cultures within schools. There were signs that Tom was influenced by and contributed to such a sub-culture, sustained by his relationships with other Art teachers in other schools and colleges. Its guiding feature is 'creativity'. Art is regarded as a creative subject – it comes from within. Techniques can be learned, but their deployment in the act of composition is fundamentally a creative process. There are certain implications for teaching style – a relaxed atmosphere, gentle encouragement, a removal of restriction, constraint and conflict, indeed the creation of an environment where pupils can find expression. Art has therapeutic qualities, therefore, both for pupils and for teacher, for whom it is another bridge between aspiration and accomplishment.

The point is neatly made again by the stark contrast between the views of Tom and those of the headmaster. According to Tom, the head was concerned 'only with the production of nice pictures'. He had 'no conception of what teaching art involves'. Having given this trenchant opinion, he would say 'I never bloody well could understand Art!'. He was interested usually only when visitors were coming. The Art room was one of the front line show places and he therefore wanted the best picures up. Tom strongly disagrees with that. He wants the *kids'* best pictures up. But Art teaching involves so much more than just the production of pictures, you have to do so much groundwork on basic dispositions, getting them in the right frame of mind. This is why he plays pop music in the Art room. The kids like it, it's a place they want to come to, they can feel more at home there, less threatened, less constrained. But the head objects, 'not so much to the principles of the method, as to the music. It's "infra dig". Now you can go along to the music room and there'll be strains of Bach. That's OK, it's socially acceptable, it doesn't matter that nobody's listening'.

Despite his frustrations then, Tom is able to derive some satisfaction from his teaching, both from a subject-based and personal point of view, without sacrifice of principles. This delicate balance between gains and losses extends to his views on changes and forthcoming changes in school organization. They enable him to keep the principles in sight, while their full realization is likely to be obstructed. Thus the 'block' system of time tabling was devised on principles embodied in the Newsom Report (CACE, 1963) and not just administrative convenience. 'That would be OK' Tom argued 'if we had the resources to make use of it'. For example, he could hire scaffolding at £1 a day to decorate the walls, make new gates at the front and rear of the school – they needed this vocational orientation. Then he had mates at the Art school and the Technical College who would have the pupils for a day, and that would be one less day at school, they needn't wear uniforms, they'd be with adults, they'd be human beings, and if some of them did well it could be extended to 1½ – 2 days.'

Tom was for comprehensive education, though against 11–18 all through schools. He favoured 6th form colleges where students could be more adult, and he also preferred smaller 11 – 16 schools which allowed for teachers 'knowing the kids and where you all grow up together'. He did not approve of sacrificing humanity for a dubious equality. At the time, the school did not exceed Tom's size requirements, allowing him to know a large number of pupils in the way he thought desirable.

This leads me to the other main aspect of Tom's commitment facilitating survival, namely that to the community in which he lived. He was the only member of

staff who lived in the village, fraternizing with the kids and their parents out of school. If he met any pupils in one of the local pubs, he would nod and turn his back, he wouldn't 'welsh' on them, which could have a deleterious effect on his relationship with them in school. These relationships were everything. He believed in community life – and school is part, only part of that life. Others thought him odd as he was the only one living in the village, but he thought it was 'the only way'. The kids knew he fraternized with their parents, many of whom he taught himself. At every first year parents' evening he would meet a whole horde of his previous pupils who were now parents of kids he was teaching, so it was all reinforced. And by the fifth year, these kids knew him just as well.

Generally mixing then, with the people of the village, in pub, street and church, probably in that order, was one aspect of this wider commitment. Another was his association with the Adult Education evening classes held at the school, of which he was the principal. Again, the main plank of his policy was the fostering of social relationships, because he believed that was why people came – for therapy. Therefore he liked to be in the foyer at the centre of operations, welcoming all and available to all. The head tolerated it, but regarded it as still *his* school, with much greater priority. Evening school was frequently more satisfying than day school, because he preferred dealing with adults, the relationships were more mature and complete. The environment was much better, clear of all the constraints of compulsion. But you could still have frustrations. For example, the caretaker wanted to lock up at 9 p.m. sharp and this was quite a huge problem.

Tom aspired once to go on a 60% evening and 40% day school basis. He would have loved that because he could have got out of Assemblies, staff meetings and so forth – all the things unconnected with teaching. But for that he needed a roll of 500 in his evening classes, whereas he only had 360. He could work to build it up, but it would take two years and they wouldn't guarantee him the headship.

But he oscillated. At the time he was disposed to give up evening schools because of 'a hundred and one petty administrative things like collecting money, answering letters, the caretaker and poor teachers, who often were unprepared and boring.' At other times, he felt he should abandon his day work. But this oscillation is my point. The swings and roundabouts of Tom's existence kept him going. The rewards and penalties varied from time to time in each sphere, but while there were rewards somewhere, they were banked against career-continuance.

The main feature, therefore, of Tom's commitment was not its vocational or professional orientation but its range, both in respect of his teaching within the school, where his application to the practice of teaching, the teaching of Art as a subject, and school and curriculum organization balanced the strong commitment to ideals; and in respect of his whole life which was dedicated first and foremost to the community, of which the school was only a part. His range of commitments allowed Tom to ring the changes on his options and keep them all open, as now one area gratified and another disappointed, and at another time, *vice versa*.

Dick, on the other hand, did not have the same range of commitments. He had outside interests, notably in the Society of Friends, and this association, I would argue, helped to sustain his 'ideas' commitment. He corresponded with people with similar views to his own, and he told me of their aspirations to create a new Summerhill in the south of England. This no doubt helped sustain his vision against the continuously disappointing reality of the school he was in. He certainly gave a great part of his time and energies to the school – in sporting activities, in running, swimming and football teams, in organizing the film club, in preparing lessons and projects. The simple truth is that the more one puts into an organization or activity, the greater, or the more single-minded one's commitment, the greater will be the

frustration and desperation when aims and aspirations are dashed. This must be even more so when the commitment is primarily one of 'ideas'.

This greater commitment to ideas, was often at the expense of practice. I have argued that Tom, in his professional commitment, showed a capacity for situational adjustment which left his ideas intact. I observed no such capacity in Dick. My feeling is that he had the 'vocational' or 'ideas' commitment of Lacey and Nias in excess in this particular situation, to which he was unwilling or unable to adjust. It seems unkind to label somebody with Dick's tremendous energies and dedication as non- or unprofessional, but in the strictest sense he was. There were those on the staff who said 'he was his own worst enemy,' and those among the pupils who said 'he was not a proper teacher'. Grace (1978) has noted some teachers in his study of inner-city schools who resisted 'immersion' into the school since it involved 'a threat to their intellectual and social vitality' (p. 187). Dick however did 'immerse' himself, for there were few who equalled his input into the school while I was there, only to extricate himself by resigning when he felt the 'threat to his intellectual and social vitality' realized. This may have been Dick's central problem – an inability to do anything other than immerse himself wholeheartedly in any enterprise he chose to engage in, coupled with a very strong commitment to principle.

This would help to explain some curious anomalies. For example, while Dick certainly had had three schools in three years, it was not his search for a more accommodating billet that was responsible, as I shall show shortly. Curiously, too, in spite of failure at each, by his own admission, his career was from more progressive institutions to less – from Cambridgeshire Village College to West Country Comprehensive to East Midlands Secondary Modern. Moreover, jobs were still fairly plentiful at the time. He talked at length and with great enthusiasm about Summerhill, junior schools and so on, and of a plan he and some friends had of founding a real community school in the south of England. The further his own experience got from his ideals, the more adventurous those ideals seemed to become.

For a more adequate explanation, however, we must move into identity theory.

Identity

Identity theory 'begins with the notion that each of us has an interest in being or becoming somebody special, sufficiently different from his fellows to save him from anonymity, and different in ways that enable him to command some admiration, respect or affection. Our cultures provide us with a repertoire of possible selves . . . from this . . . each of us chooses or assembles a package and he gives people to understand that this is the sort of person he is . . . (These choices) constitute in effect, a set of claims we make about ourselves. Having made these claims, our public reputations and our private satisfaction with ourselves depend on our success in fulfilling these claims' (Cohen, 1976, p. 49).

This has been demonstrated many times, especially in the field of deviance, for example in the Abortion Clinic (Ball, 1972), and with various types in Rubington and Weinberg (1978) – shoplifters, nudists, check-forgers, queers and peers. All illustrate the managing of identity. 'Identity establishes *what* and *where* the person is in social terms . . . One's identity is established when others *place* him as a social object by assigning him the same words of identity that he appropriates for himself or *announces*' (Stone, 1962, p. 93). The distinction is often made between personal and social identities. Personal identity is the image one has of oneself – social identity is the image others have. These are sometimes distinguished as *self*, ego as known to ego, and *identity*, ego and his self as he appears to alter (Stone, 1962). There is con-

tinuous interplay between the two performed through symbols – language, appearance, acts – and mediated through interpretive frameworks. For interaction with others to be able to occur, there must be at least some correspondence between presented self and assigned identity, between personal and social identities (Ball, 1972).

Identities have a temporal dimension. Ball has distinguished between situated and substantial identities. The latter have a more stable and enduring quality. Situated identities are more transient, more dependent on time, place and situation, though they interact with substantial identities and may affect them. If there is a wide divergence between the two, a great deal of negotiative work may be required by both actor and audience to salvage the substantial identity.

We shall find these distinctions useful in our consideration of our two heroes. My main argument is that Dick was concerned to claim a particularly radical personal and substantial identity, and that this was one of the main factors, ultimately, behind his eventual surrender. This would help to explain the consistency of his behaviour, in fact the *escalation* of attempted innovation, despite the evident lack of success. Albert Cohen (1976) argues that 'for some of us, a key portion of our identity is our claim to be among the vanguard of some movement' (p. 51). Once certain areas have been achieved, or even perhaps simply broadcast, we need to move on to still more thoroughgoing aims:

> Disillusionment with the ineffectiveness of a less radical posture may play an important part and so may, paradoxically, the experience of success. Success, by altering one's conception of what is possible, may encourage a revision upwards of aspirations and therefore of greater extremism.
>
> (1976, p. 51)

I would argue that both factors, failure and success, albeit a 'phoney' success, paradoxically played a part in the maintenance of Dick's radical identity. He had moved to three different schools in as many years. I believe that Dick wanted to be a reformer, and that his brief excursions into these three schools *each* gave him a glimpse of that characterization before threatening to undermine it. For all institutions have a certain elasticity. The norms and rules of the prevailing cultures may be strong, but ill-defined, if only because they are so rarely challenged. When they are challenged it takes time for the upholders of the culture to marshall their defences. In that space, that area of 'give', Dick enjoyed momentary but largely phoney success with his film club, his clique of malcontents, his newspaper, house badges and School Council. Once the strength of the prevailing forces began to outweigh his apparent successes, it was time for him to move on to test the pliability of some other institution. That this overall movement showed a trend towards situations that were less and less likely to favour his aims, supports my argument that Dick was acting in the service of his own preferred identity, rather than seeking out ways of creating the conditions that might help some of his ideas become practice. Of course one could argue that trying to set up a School Council etc. was his attempt to create those conditions, and that his failure was simply a product of superior forces or his own misjudgement or inexperience. But Dick was neither a novice nor unintelligent. And there could be fewer less propitious moments and situations for such a reform.

In the terms of the model of identity with which we began, it enabled Dick to pass off the situational identity as part of his substantial one, whereas Tom played off one situational identity against another in an always precarious juggling feat. Moving fairly rapidly from place to place was Dick's way of managing his identity as a radical reformer, dedicated to certain ideals and principles, which admitted of no compromise, and which called for vigorous and persistent prosecution of method.

Further, what others might have interpreted as warning signs and gathering powerful opposition, was an essential component of Dick's identity. For in the shaping and honing of these identities we need not only supportive feedback from others, but also contrastive. Thus opposition would be converted to gain in Dick's (and Tom's) perception of others. Thus when Dick and Tom criticized the hierarchy, 'craftsmen' handiworkers, time-serving nine to four teachers, as they frequently did, it was not simply a question of attacking policies and ideologies, but an 'attempt to render worthless the currency in terms of which the identities of those who dwell comfortably within those institutions are currently valued' (Cohen, 1976, p. 52). The counter-criticism was a useful mirror for Dick, or as Cooley described it, 'the looking-glass self' (Cooley, 1902).

Dick's identity was projected with his usual vigour and clarity, from his long hair with hair band and other unusual symbols of clothing to the laying bare of his spiritual self in his confessions of his innermost thoughts and feelings in his assemblies. Gregory Stone has argued for the importance of appearance, as well as discourse in the establishment, maintainance and alteration of the self (1962). The headmaster and most of his staff realized this in their preoccupation with school uniform. Of course the kind of identities the head was trying to promote among the kids was greatly at variance with that of Dick.

This clash of identities, in which appearances were paramount, is illustrated by an incident which sparked off a series of events which led to Dick's eventual resignation. It is important to realize that Dick, even though periodically he spearheaded a clique, was an individualist, even more so than Tom. He was a marginal man, who championed other marginals in his teaching – tramps, gypsies, alcoholics – with passionate ideas but lacking the roots that Tom had sunk over the years.

He was not one of the staff as a collective body, and in some respects he was anti-professional. He would not have subscribed to the 'collective ideology' of the staff-room (Hammersley, 1975). Nor would Tom in many respects, but he admitted to accepting the majority view. If decisions were made that he did not like, he would not seek ways of overturning them, but of adapting them. Dick, however, could not bear to be associated however remotely with certain decisions. The occasion in question was when the head took his revenge on the whole school, for having been worsted by two fourth form boys, laid his conformist philosophy on the line, 'denigrated them as human beings', and ordered a harsh uniform and general appearance inspection the following day, as if to signal the birth of a new order. Dick marched into the staffroom afterwards and immediately declared 'That's it! I'm leaving! I'm off! Can't stay in this school any longer'. It was not only the philosophy, but the fact that the head had declared that 'he was going to see to it that *his* teachers carried out his new totalitarian oppression policy'. Dick resented this association. He 'wasn't going to bloody do it'. Some boys said that at times it was like the SS with the head as Hitler. Between the verbal fury of the onslaught, however, and the deed itself – in this case, the uniform inspection of the following day – there was a world of difference in which both teachers and pupils could manoeuvre, as most of them did, including Tom. They knew that the head's outburst, not any new policy or regime, *was* his revenge. Thus, you could go up the line of pupils under his charge, pretending to inspect them but making amusing comments, neutralizing to a large extent the previous day's damage. This mutual 'face work' (Goffman, 1967) enabled Tom and the pupils he inspected to preserve their substantial identities while going through situational motions. By making a pretence of the inspection, Tom was projecting an image of self detached from that particular framework. And by their smiles and knowing looks, the pupils confirmed the image.

Dick could not bring himself to do this any more than he could attend speech day. It is possible that he saw this particular attack as just as much an attack on him as

on the pupils, since much stress was laid on the importance of *appearance*, and what certain deviant forms of it (e.g. long hair) indicated. His reaction may, then, not have arisen solely out of strong sympathy for the pupils, and their 'denigration as human beings' (Dick's words), but because it also brought on for him a severe identity crisis. I am reminded of Lemert's analysis of the identity problems of the check forger (not to be confused with moral career, in which Dick and the check forger have nothing in common):

> In a sense the forger fails because he succeeds; he is able to fend off or evade self-degradation consequences of his actions, but in so doing he rejects forms of interaction necessary to convert his rewards in positive, status-specific self-evaluations. In time he reaches a point at which he can no longer define himself in relation to others on any basis. The self becomes amorphous, without boundaries; the identity substructure is lost.
>
> (1978, pp. 459–460)

Dick could only preserve his sense of who he was by leaving. Had he stayed, he would have been a changed man. His one real achievement – the new social studies syllabus – rather significantly perhaps, had been credited to somebody else. In other respects he had gone from experiment to experiment on an ever increasing scale of pervasiveness despite their evident failure. In the circumstances, there could be only one outcome, and it was *he* who made the decision, not the headmaster. It is my guess that leaving solved at a stroke what had become for him an intolerable identity problem.

In other ways, Dick and the headmaster aggravated their identity concerns, and we can see how lack of a certain awareness compounded both their difficulties. Dick disputed not only the head's power, but also his position as 'critical reality definer' (Riseborough, 1981, p. 37). Dick's frequent utterances that some decision or action of the head's was too grotesque to be 'true' carried almost literal significance for him. They lived in different worlds. So did Tom. But, whereas Tom appreciated how those worlds had come into existence and what their social supports were, Dick did not, except in a very hazy way. The core of the projection of those worlds seemed at times within the person, almost in a spiritual sense. At others, it was seen as purely a managerial problem. But always as individualized. I suggest this was why he was so frequently outraged at the head's behaviour, and *vice versa*. They both took it personally, the headmaster who was so traditionalist 'it wasn't true', and the 'bloody anarchist' bent on nihilistic revolution. Having affixed these labels to each other, they seemed determined to make each other live up to them. Tom could have stepped outside these labels. Dick and the headmaster seemed to revel in them. Each saw the other as a 'judgemental dope' (Garfinkel, 1967). But in their outright condemnation of each other, each was reinforcing his own identity. This preoccupation, I would suggest, blunted the edge of awareness.

The starkness of Dick's position is revealed by a consideration of the rest of the staff, Tom included, whose roles and careers hung in the balance because of the forthcoming change in the school's status to comprehensive. There would be more jobs, but who would get them? Would their present positions be guaranteed? Would they need a degree to remain head of department? Who would get the key senior positions? During Dick's solitary year at the school, the rest of the staff, all on a somewhat longer time span, were in a state of unease and uncertainty about their professional careers and identities, and most were playing it safe. 'If I play my cards right', one told me, 'I might get head of department'. It was not the time to rebel; not the time to try to overthrow a ruler when he was on the point of abdicating and a new more democratic constitution had already been agreed.

Riseborough, for example, has shown that in the school of his research, career aspirations were fixed during comprehensivization and the 'old' staff thought these aspirations would and could be realistically fulfilled. Much staffroom conversation was concerned with potential career advancement, and there was an atmosphere of career uncertainty and career expectation. One of the staff remarked, 'The school was at a watershed – and you don't drop bombs in watersheds, not unless you are jettisoning them for waste' (Riseborough, 1981, pp. 18–19). That is exactly what Dick did. He dropped a bomb in a watershed.

Conclusion

The comparison of two teachers professing similar views of teaching and in the same situation, but with different strategical orientations, has suggested further refinements to prevailing models of teacher action.

The categorization of strategies employed by our two teachers on a paradigmatic – pragmatic basis led to the argument that if we are to understand correctly the origin and nature of teacher strategies, then we must investigate their type and range of commitments and their identities. I have suggested that what helps Tom maintain an admittedly precarious teaching existence, but nonetheless ideologically intact one, is a range of commitments, both within the school and in the community at large, among which he can juggle or negotiate his general interests depending on circumstances. He has, too, what I have described as a number of 'bridging devices' which enable him to cross the divide between ideals and practice, such as 'fair procedures', his counselling role, and his subject 'art'. These bridging devices might be compared with the 'partial penetrations' noted by Willis (1977) which enabled a group of 'lads' periodically to break through their conditions of existence.

I have argued that a factor playing a large part in Dick's downfall was the preservation of his own substantial identity, which was becoming increasingly at risk with every day that he remained at the school. Resignation was the final act of self-preservation. This is not to say, of course, that there were not other contributory factors. The headmaster, for example, happened to hold fundamentally different views. If Dick had arrived at the school two or three years later he would have been caught up in the initial excitement of comprehensivization. If he had come four or five years earlier, he might have established himself within a powerful reference group, with strong mutual moral support. The circumstances were not of his making and, as they were, they aggravated his identity problems.

It is in these areas of teacher biography that the individual has most choice, choosing how to distribute commitments over a range of concerns, selecting an identity from a range of roles and testing it reflexively in a continuous process of interactions with others (Brittan, 1973). These choices have implications for strategies and for careers.

I should stress again, that I do not claim to have given anything like a full explanation of Tom's and Dick's intentions and actions. That would require much more material, not only in the areas touched on in this paper, but into a deeper socio-historical dimension, into earlier socialization, class and family background that would reveal more about the development of the self concept and the criteria they used for judging how they 'coped' with the situation (see Pollard, 1980a). Rather, I have used the material that was available to me to try to indicate the potential fruitfulness of this area for understanding teacher action, and to suggest lines of future enquiries.

Finally, I have cast the problem in terms of why Tom survived in the system, and Dick did not, and in such a comparison, Dick must appear the loser. But of course it is the educational system that is the real loser, for teachers of his talents, energies and

charisma are rare. While the thrust of this paper has been to focus on his own responsibility in the matter as suggested by his identity concerns, there are questions raised about significant others who may have helped shape those concerns – headteachers, colleagues, teacher educators.

One would also need to appreciate the constraints he was faced with. Dick, in fact, had the whole force of society against him – social structure, moral standards, cultural adaptations. In typically optimistic and energetic fashion he attempted to create his own structural supports from the flotsam and jetsam of an unpopular, but dying regime. In the end, that is all it was, something left on the beach between the flow of the new unknown, forthcoming comprehensivization, and the ebb of the elitist paternalism of the old order. What this study of two teachers has shown, I hope, is not only how the constraints and pressures in this tide impinge on action, but also how they can be recognized and grappled with. The results may not be revolutionary, but where there is recognition, there are possibilities.

Acknowledgement

I am indebted to Jennifer Nias, Andrew Pollard, Colin Fletcher, Martyn Hammersley, Colin Lacey, Stephen Walker and Len Barton, for their observations on an earlier draft of this paper. My thanks above all to Tom and Dick whose inspiration as teachers led me to write this paper.

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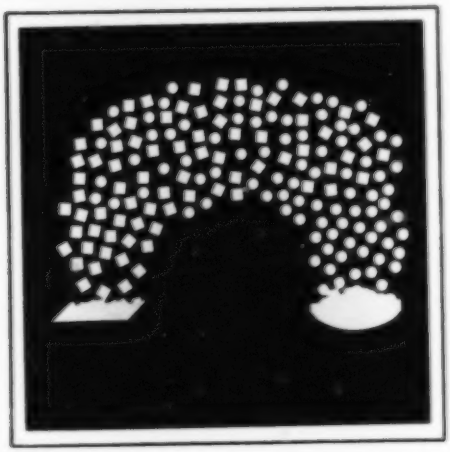

Teaching is an activity like no other profession. In no other activity does the professional confront the clients *en masse*; in no other activity are the clients compelled to attend by law. Teaching is also unique in imposing on probationers an abrupt and uncompromising transition from learner (in the training institution) to practitioner (in schools), with very little 'intern' learner-role other than brief periods as student-teachers. Added to this are the pressures created by the transfer of responsibilities from other social institutions (the family, religion) for the socialisation of youth, the burden of the central economic function which education has for the inequitable distribution of life chances, and an increasingly mature and disgruntled clientele who choose to continue their schooling as a preferable alternative to unemployment.

It is also the case that the school is an institution of which everyone has experience, and there are many who, on the basis of their own experience as pupils, are willing to give generously their opinions and advice to teachers. This appears to be especially true of people who have come to some prominence in business, the media, or public office. How then, should we approach the study of teachers as professionals and teaching as a professional activity in a way that makes sense of all the difficulties and pressures surrounding the education system?

Many discussions of teachers and teaching seem to lean towards three differing emphases. One is to provide a collection of factual data that tends to describe teachers in demographic terms, looking specifically at their social background, their values, and the socialised composition of the profession. This tells us such things as that teaching continues to be an avenue of upward social mobility for working-class males and ethnic groups, and represents a 'safe' career for middle-class girls. The second emphasis tends towards an ideology of vocationalism. It is an approach that adopts an enthusiastic stance which seeks to 'improve' education by making the experience of schooling more relevant and equitable for teachers. A third trend is to study teachers' lives and careers and make generalisations from those about socialisation and development.

Both approaches have their limitations: the first, while providing useful insights into the composition of the teaching profession, may not do much to help practising teachers make sense of their own problems and situation; the second also provides useful insights that can inform the pedagogy of teachers and have relevance to their circumstances, but often fails to include an adequate sociological critique, with the result that it tends to address the symptoms rather than the causes of what are regarded as educational problems.

Jennifer Nias has provided a refreshingly new approach that examines the careers of a group of teachers in terms of their developing concept of 'self'. The course team believes that this provides the most useful approach to the study of teachers and teaching that can be provided, and is one that will form a sound basis from which to pursue more conventional approaches to the subject. The research which has led to this monograph was done in Britain, nevertheless her findings and the implications

flowing from her research are directly relevant to the Australian situation and have much to offer Australian teachers.

After reading the monograph prepared by Jennifer Nias, you should look at the following suggested texts; they are all well worth reading. The texts by Connell (1985), Connell et al. (1982), and Spaull (1977) are Australian, and of particular relevance to Australian teachers.

Ball, J. *Beachside Comprehensive: A Case-study of Secondary Schooling.* Cambridge University Press, London and New York, 1981.
An account of schooling in a single comprehensive school based on three years' participant observation which raises questions about the practice of education through the detailed examination of the daily interaction of teachers and pupils. It explores the processes of selection, socialisation, social equality, and pupil misbehaviour, illustrating that an enormous gap exists between the rhetoric and reality of comprehensive education.

Connell, R. W. *Teachers' Work.* George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1985.
An analysis of personal relationships within Australian classrooms as aspects of the work teachers do, showing how these relationships connect to larger social structures of gender and social class. It explores the role of teachers as a group involved in educational reform, their social and political ideas, the divisions among them, and how their interests may be served or damaged in attempts to change highly unequal education systems.

Connell, R. W., Ashenden, D. J., Kessler, S., & Dowset, G. W. *Making the Difference.* George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1982.
This book is not confined to the role of the teacher but embraces a wider sociology of education. It is a book that should be read. It draws on a detailed study of schools and homes in Australia, allowing children, parents and teachers to speak for themselves. It ranges across educational policy from system level to the everyday experience of children and teachers, from the problems of schooling to the production of class and gender relations.

Edgar, D. E. *The Competent Teacher.* Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1974.
A book of readings that raises basic questions about the nature of teaching, and of the needs of teachers and students and society. It presents theory and research from the USA, Europe and Australia to show the common problems as well as the cultural diversity faced by teachers and to suggest more practical outcomes for schools than reliance on teacher folklore.

Hargreaves, A., & Woods, P. *Classrooms and Staffrooms.* The Open University, Milton Keynes, 1984.
A set of readings exploring such matters as how teachers maintain order, how they treat their pupils, and how they cope with pressure. It examines the ways in which teachers relate to their colleagues, what goes on in staffrooms, how they engage in educational debate, and what their ambitions are.

King, R. *All Things Bright and Beautiful? A Sociological Study of Infants' Classrooms.* Wiley, Chichester, 1978.
A study of three schools servicing different social areas that shows how teachers' actions and classroom practices relate to their definitions of young children and their education, and to the children's social origins.

Lacey, C. *The Socialisation of Teachers.* Methuen, London, 1977.
The change from a student role to a teacher role can be one of the most abrupt and stressful transitions in working life, but the process of socialisation does not end when the student becomes a fully-qualified teacher. Lacey argues that socialisation is a partial and rarely homogenous process, and provides a wide variety of case material to show how student teachers adapt their response to the classroom situation.

Lortie, D. C. *Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1975.
Lortie attempts to define the nature and content of the ethos of the teaching profession. He employs several methods, including historical review, national and local surveys, observational studies, and interviews with teachers, to produce an impression of teaching as an occupation seen from the teacher's perspective.

Spaull, A. D., *Australian Teachers.* Macmillan, Melbourne, 1977.
A book of readings that examines teachers in Australia, looking at their changing status, training, occupational task and collective organisations over the previous 180 years. It sets out to give a historical background and perspective to the contemporary problems facing Australian teachers while also providing an introduction to the issues that confront them today.

About the author

Jennifer Nias studied history at Oxford University and then became a primary school teacher. After teaching in England and Nigeria, two years with an educational publisher in London, and three years of post-graduate study in sociology at the University of California in Berkeley, she moved into pre-service teacher education. In that capacity she has worked in a college of education and a university department of education, and is now engaged in in-service education at the Cambridge Institute of Education in England. Her research interests include teachers' lives and biographies, and she is at present Director of the Primary School Staff Relationships Project (case studies of adult relationships in primary schools) at the Cambridge Institute of Education. She spent four months on study leave at Deakin University in 1985.

Acknowledgments

Parts of this monograph have appeared in:

Nias, J., 'The definition and maintenance of self in primary teaching', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, vol. 5, no. 3, 1984, pp. 267–80.

Nias, J., 'Learning and acting the role: In-school support for primary teachers', *Educational Review*, vol. 36, 1984, pp. 3–15.

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